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CHINA,

DURING THE WAR

AND

SINCE THE PEACE.

BY

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PART II.

CHINA

SINCE THE PEACE;

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF THE PRESENT REBELLION IN THE SOUTH OF THE EMPIRE;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

OBSERVATIONS ON JAPAN AND THE INDO-CHINESE NATIONS.

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CHINA

SINCE THE PEACE.

CHAPTER I.

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE.

To display the sincerity of the government as to the observance of the concluded peace, several proclamations were addressed to the people and the soldiers, calling on them no longer to imprison or kill any persons who might fall into their hands. Yet, notwithstanding this, so inveterate in their trade were the ruffians who had been employed in kidnapping, that several instances occurred after the war was over. Even when the troops had reached Chusan, two officers were attacked, not far from the north gate of Tinghae, and

nearly carried off by these villains. Their numbers and daring soon gave trouble to their own government, and the inspector of Ningpo issued a proclamation, in which he said, that "the laws must be upheld, and the land cleared of the robbers. There are now men who, under the pretence of being soldiers, assemble in bands, commit murder, rape, and robbery, and are ready for every mischief. We therefore call on the people to kill them without further reference, as outlaws."

When they perceived that they could no longer molest foreigners with any profit to themselves, the banditti commenced preying on the Chinese people both by sea and land, piracy having increased from the destruction or dispersion of the late Chinese navy. Nearly a year after the conclusion of the treaty they infested the coast, and even established themselves at a town whence the mandarins had fled. Some compromise was made with their leaders, and the remnant of incorrigible wretches withdrew finally into the mountains which separate Chĕkeang from Keangnan. There, according to the Peking gazettes, they still remained, committing occasional ravages

on the people of the plains. Such were the auxiliaries of the Chinese government during the war, the principal instruments of the generals in command of the troops; and it was on such that rewards were conferred by Yihking, the imperial relative, when they brought any prisoners or heads to his camp.

The next measures immediately consequent on the peace were to be, first, the liberation of all British prisoners; and secondly, the amnesty to all Chinese who had assisted us in any way during the war. With regard to the last, it had been expressly stipulated that the "Emperor of China should publish and promulgate, under his imperial sign manual and seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity" to all such persons. This, however, was evaded. No such promulgation was ever made, but every functionary was left to the exercise of his own discretion in his own province. New Tajin expressed himself in very ambiguous terms, but Eleepoo was more honest and explicit. The former implied that the culprits, though at present escaping punishment, could not escape if they henceforward proved guilty of the slightest misdemeanour.

The other declared "It has been agreed that all native traitors should be set at liberty, and we have therefore received the imperial order to absolve them from their crimes." But a paper addressed to the emperor by the governor of Chĕkeang, and never intended for our perusal, fully betrayed the vindictive spirit of the government towards these people, and accounted for the subsequent persecutions at Ningpo, Chusan, and Amoy, as well as Shanghae, where our consul successfully interfered in favour of a Chinese in our service. The emperor had enjoined his ministers to transact this business "secretly," and the reply of the governor proved him a fitting instrument for the work. He recommended that "Inquiries should be made whether the said traitorous natives had not, *at a previous period*, been set down as villains, and if there is any evidence of their wickedness they should be prosecuted for their old crimes."

"The assurance of amnesty," observed Dr. Gutzlaff, "was soon slighted. The men noted on the list for political crimes were, by an order from the court, put under surveillance, and every magistrate was directed to let them

be marked men, who, on the accusation of any of their neighbours or others for previous crimes, should instantly be brought to summary punishment. This was a direct violation of the treaty, and in opposition to the most solemn assurances. The houses of several individuals at Ningpo, who had rendered us some trifling service, were plundered; several native policemen sent by us to that city from Chusan were thrown into prison. Some of our adherents came in very great terror to say that they had been threatened with death, and subsequently disappeared. There hangs a deep gloom over the fate of these poor fellows, with the certainty that two were tortured and beaten to death."

Another instance of bad faith occurred with reference to the dreadful massacre of British subjects, perpetrated by the commandant at Formosa. When Eleepoo, in May 1842, made his proposition of giving up all British prisoners, it was distinctly demanded that the unfortunate castaways in the vessels Nerbudda and Anne should be included in the number. Those on the main were all liberated, and so general was the confidence that the

shipwrecked people at Formosa had also been set free, that no one thought more about the matter. How great was the horror, then, on hearing at Amoy, when a portion of the expedition reached that place from Nanking, of their cold-blooded murder. On the 13th of August, 1842 (while the British force was investing Nanking), upon a wide plain near the gates of the capital of Formosa, 197 British subjects, composed of whites and natives of India captured by the Chinese from the wrecks of the Nerbudda and Anne, were placed on their knees near to each other, their feet in irons, and their hands manacled behind their backs. These unfortunate people had been brought from their prisons ignorant of their fate. In this state of suspense the executioners appeared, and proceeded with their swords to sever the heads of all from their bodies. The heads were exposed along the line of the sea-shore, and the bodies were thrown into one immense grave.*

The British plenipotentiary made up his

* Journals of Mr. Gully and Captain Denham, edited by a Barrister, 1844. Chinese Repository, vol. xi., p. 682.

mind that the local authorities in the island of Formosa, the authors of this dreadful tragedy, should be condignly punished, and declared that, without this just atonement, he was not prepared to say that it might not lead to a renewal of hostilities. In the subsequent negotiations every promise was freely given by the emperor's government that due examples should be made; but proofs have since appeared that the faith of the Chinese government was of the Punican hue.

Tahungah, the commandant at Formosa, reported to Peking, in October, 1841, that "the barbarian ships had been lately in the habit of approaching the coast of Formosa and anchoring.* One of them came so close that she was fired on, and a gun which struck her wounded the mast and cut the ropes. When the vessel was quitting her anchorage, she got upon a rock and went to pieces, so that many of the crew were drowned. Those who remained on board were seized alive by our officers, while five white, five brown, and twenty-two black barbarians were cut down,

* In their passage through the strait.

and their guns, with a number of books and charts, were taken."* The emperor's reply to his mendacious mandarin commended such gallant and praiseworthy conduct, and directed that marks of distinction should be conferred on all parties concerned.

In May, 1842, the same Tahungah announced another of his pseudo-triumphs. "This ship (the Anne) was enticed into a place where there are sunken rocks, and instantly attacked by soldiers who were purposely placed in ambush. Some of the crew had their heads taken off, thirty-nine were made prisoners, together with five traitorous Chinese, while ten guns were captured, with arms and charts." Upon this representation the emperor remarked "that in the former year a vessel had arrived with rebellious intentions, and another having since gone thither, Tahungah had shown his courage and wisdom in enticing her into danger, and seizing her, an act which will spread the terror of the nation. He is therefore nominated a titular guardian

* This was the Nerbudda, wrecked on a lee shore, whence some officers and soldiers escaped in a boat to Hongkong.

of the imperial heir, and his subordinates will be rewarded according to their merits."

In a subsequent paper, the emperor's council remarked that "after the fate of the two ships, it might be difficult to prevent others coming with greater force to revenge themselves. Tahungah must therefore be on his guard, and not lose sight of the main object." To this the latter humbly replied, that "he felt overwhelmed with the favours bestowed upon him, and suggested that 300,000 taels should be forwarded in order to fortify the Formosan coast." A long account followed, of some attempt of the barbarians to spread over the country, and produce a rebellion; alluding, no doubt, to the efforts of the prisoners to escape, after their wretched treatment. Here the commandant praised his own determination and management, and reported a complete victory over the resisting foreigners, for which he was created a *Batourou*, in Tartar, — in Chinese, *Patooloo*.

The emperor, on hearing of the capture of the prisoners, had directed the Board of Punishments to consider their case; but there is no proof that sentence of death was ever

passed upon them; on the contrary, the court of Peking had, by that time, determined on peace, and would not have counteracted its resolve by such a measure. To account for the bloody and unauthorised act of Tahungah is next to impossible, unless he had been actuated by a fear of the number of prisoners, and their rising. At the very time of the butchery, news had already reached Formosa of a speedy settlement of differences, and this remorseless deed was committed in spite of it.

Eleang, governor of the two provinces of Fokien and Chĕkeang, who was despatched as commissioner to Formosa after the vehement protest of the British plenipotentiary, reported that "he had clearly ascertained that the destruction of the vessels was occasioned, not by our attack on them, but by stress of weather. The sailors who escaped shipwreck came on shore disheartened and forlorn, and, having been received by the inhabitants, were then given up to the authorities. Tahungah and his colleagues confessed this, and allowed that they had forwarded a false statement, misled by traitorous natives." He was therefore removed to the capital; and, having been put

on his trial, appears to have been either acquitted or very slightly punished. He was afterwards promoted to be one of the principal generals on the Elee frontier, a great leap from being only Tsoongping of Formosa. He was, in fact, rewarded rather than punished; and, if there was any motive in this, it must have been a secret approval of his crime.

After the conclusion of the arduous struggle with England, the Chinese could look back on nothing but what was mortifying to the national vanity. In all former wars, even when peace had been effected by compromise, some real or pretended prisoners were exhibited at Peking as trophies, and then put to death; but the experiment was too dangerous in the case of Great Britain. Some reaction was natural after the squadron had quitted the river. When the pressure which dictated the peace was over, they had leisure to consider their losses, and brood over the payment of 21,000,000 of dollars. The unprogressive literati of China discovered that their pride had been humbled to the dust, and that the Celestial empire no longer swayed the world. Not having been present at so many disastrous

defeats, and there being no public press, they could not imagine why such an engagement as the treaty should have been necessary, and their indignation was consequently roused to the highest pitch. At one time it seemed as if all the literary talent of China had combined for a breach of the peace, and was ready to re-enact the tergiversation shown in Keshen's case, on a much larger scale.

A very remarkable paper was presented to the emperor, which, from its importance, is here given entire: —

"Tungtsung-yuen presents this memorial to propose the collection of an army for the purpose of visiting the barbarians with the wrath of heaven, and that this opportunity may not be lost for exterminating them.

"The barbarians penetrated to Nanking, and the commissioners, observing the pressing dangers, requested leave to conclude a peace with them, which the great emperor, moved with compassion for the lives of his people, and with his all-pervading benevolence allowed them to do, according to the nature of circumstances.

"Should this be carried into effect, four

evils will inevitably spring from it: — 1. The majesty of the empire will be injured; 2. The heart artery of the state will be cut; 3. Rebels will raise their heads; 4. The people of the frontiers, and foreign states, will give rise to much trouble. It would therefore be better to seize this moment to obtain a victory, rather than swallow down the disgrace, and, for the sake of obtaining peace, entail such lasting mischief.

" 1. The commissioners remark that the rebellious barbarians were, in their murderous designs, never yet put down by an army, though sundry forces had been marched against them. Whose fault, however, is this? Shall not the example made of Yupooyun inspire other officers with different conduct?*

* This veteran, once renowned for his bravery and success, and who was so highly rewarded in 1832 for putting a stop to the Meaou-tsze inroad, declared himself one of the war party against the British. Having been appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces at Chinhae, he was for rejecting all peaceful proposals. His wish and intention were to treat the English as he had treated the aborigines of the hills with whom he had been engaged, and he waited with the greatest anxiety for the moment when he might have them within his reach. He had his wish in October, 1841, but the shells from the men-of-

An army has retreated along the banks of the Yangtsekeang; the Great Canal is in the possession of the enemy; and the commissioners even dare to report that Nanking would not be tenable! Instead of inspiring awe and terror, they lose themselves utterly in fear and trepidation, and engage to pay the English above 20,000,000 in foreign money, — a sum which is nearly a year's revenue. They, moreover, open to them five ports, and cede territory, in order to obtain peace. In addition to this, they likewise crave that the convention which they have concluded may have the impress of the imperial seal, just as if a debtor were going to give a bond, or the seller of property drawing up a deed! Can such men be aware

war were too much for him, and he made off without waiting to see an enemy land. In March, 1842, he was again called upon to attack Ningpo, but his advanced guard having been severely handled, he withdrew with the main body behind the mountains and lived peaceably at a respectful distance. At the conclusion of the peace, the emperor, indignant at his early boasting and his subsequent cowardice, ordered him to appear before his tribunal, where he was condemned to be publicly beheaded, and suffered accordingly, to serve as a warning to others. Nearly every individual of the ultra war party came to a bad end. (See below.)

of what dynasty they serve; and will not the tributary states, on hearing of this, look with contempt upon China? This is the detriment that will accrue to the majesty of the empire.

"2. The commissioners ask for those barbarians 21,000,000 of dollars, as opium indemnification, debts of merchants, and expenses of the war. But is it not wrong to pay for a prohibited article? — the more so, as the loss of the drug consumed was made good by a present of tea and rhubarb? Why, then, should such an enormous price be demanded? As for the merchants' debts, this is a mere *ex parte* claim; but how ought the expenses of the war to be paid to an enemy? Is it bearable that such sums should be taken from the limited means of our treasury, and the fat and marrow of our people? What security have we for the future, that the English will remain quiet, and not increase their demands? And if then, after all, the treaty must be broken and war declared, of what advantage can this peace be to the nation, when, in addition to a war of three years, and its enormous expenditure, these contributions shall have utterly exhausted our dis-

posable means. Therefore, to sanction this treaty, is to cut the heart artery of the country.

"3. The commissioners likewise ask an amnesty for the traitorous natives who joined the enemy. Though we should not care for setting their prisoners at liberty, yet openly to forgive native villains who gave them assistance, who led them on—wretches who are so much detested, that the people would devour their flesh, and sleep in their skins; whose crimes call aloud for vengeance, — this is certainly the acme of blundering! Will the people in future not forget to obey the laws, will they not resist the government, and will this precedent not be the source of future rebellion?

"4. The commissioners likewise observe that we shall never effect any thing by war, and therefore ought to yield to circumstances, and put a stop to hostilities for ever. But is not such language calculated merely to cajole? Have not these barbarians received 6,000,000 for their opium at Canton*, and,

* The Canton ransom was 6,000,000 dollars; but not for opium.

though promising to retire with their troops, did they not, before the convention was yet dry, invade our country and invest Nanking? And would they not now make other demands as soon as the stipulated instalments were paid? Have they not already, while negotiating for peace, transported their troops on shore at the same time? What security, therefore, have these commissioners that no subsequent discussions will arise?

"The observation of the commissioners, that opening to the English the five ports will conciliate their favour, good faith and forbearance, make them protect those harbours*, and thus prove to us of great use, is the prating of a dreamer. A child may perceive that by putting them in possession of the most important points in our country, and making them guardians of the very gates, they will assume absolute sway, and dictate at their pleasure.

"All that the commissioners aim at is to procure tranquillity for the present, quite unmindful of the future: but even this they will

* No doubt very formidable fleets of pirates have been destroyed by our navy since the peace.

not accomplish; for if the immeasurable demands they now support are to form a precedent, where is this to end?—The enemy will grow bold, view the Central Empire with the utmost contempt, and their insatiable desires will be without bounds.

"Your minister, therefore, strongly declares that, although every thing dear to him is in the city of Nanking, he would rather see a decisive battle fought on that spot, and the life of his family endangered, than that such propositions should be admitted.*

"Though the southern entrance of the Grand Canal is in the enemy's power, the northern at Yangchowfoo is still in our possession. We may therefore despatch a large army under the command of a high officer, call upon the Keangsoo and Ganhoey provinces to send their contingents, raise the siege of Nanking, and then surround them on every side. Autumn is approaching, the water will soon decrease, their heavy vessels will get aground, and then even the weak will be strong. Let us never forget that both the

* The British force had already left the Yangtsekeang.

Tâng and Soong dynasties brought upon themselves misfortunes by negotiation. But the great Emperor by his intelligence, wisdom, and courage will discover the error, and lay hold on this opportunity to save the country from danger."

The emperor himself, never celebrated for decision, was supposed at one time to have wavered. When the treaty of Nanking was presented for the approval of the cabinet, one of the ministers (of Chinese extraction) declared that he never could be a party to such a compact, and proving, of course, in the minority, he committed suicide that very evening. This made a deep impression on his colleagues, and gave some strength to the anti-foreign policy.

Lew Yunko, the sub-governor of Chĕkeang, one of the former war party, addressed a very artful report to the emperor, misrepresenting what had often been the acts of the Chinese rabble after our successes as the dreadful ravages of the English barbarians. He subsequently did his best to reduce our possession of Chusan to a nullity, by representing the fearful evils his countrymen had to suffer

under British rule. He even appealed indirectly to the plenipotentiary on behalf of the inhabitants, who, he pretended, had petitioned him to rescue them from a situation worse than death. This was very like his friend Yihking's apocryphal notice formerly exhibited at Chusan*, for they were politicians of exactly the same school. He hoped to succeed in inducing the British to confine themselves to the occupation of little more than the harbour, or abandon it entirely long before the appointed time. Dr. Gutzlaff was acting as civil magistrate of Chusan at the time, and found out several government agents on the spot, who, under the guise of patriotic citizens, continued to excite the inhabitants, than whom a more quiet and submissive race were never subjected to foreign rule, or, in the end, proved more willing for its continuance. Fortunately, the town itself of Tinghae began to flourish in consequence of the large number of transports and men-of-war anchored in the harbour; though during the whole of the four years in which Chusan

* Vol I. page 222.

continued ours after the peace, no external trade of the least consequence sprung up, notwithstanding its being a perfectly free port. Lew's underhand intrigues to stir up the populace proved entirely vain, and he had to ask forgiveness of the emperor for his want of success. Taoukwang, however, was pleased with the zeal of his devoted servant, and made him governor-general of Fokien and Chĕkeang, where, at his residence Foochowfoo, he subsequently proved very deceitful and troublesome, as will appear hereafter.

At Peking almost every Chinese of rank and influence was opposed to the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty. The negotiators of it shared in the odium of the cowardly generals who had deceived their sovereign by false representations. The *Yusze*, or privileged censors, went so far as to impute blame to the emperor himself for having adopted such a ruinous course, and condemned the leniency exhibited towards unsuccessful or faithless ministers. But the rancour of Chinese party spirit was mainly directed towards the Tartar Keying, who was looked upon as the chief worker of all the

mischief, as the spoiler of the national treasury, as the traitor who had ruined the country.

It served as no alleviation of bitter feelings when the account of the sums expended in the hapless war necessarily reached the capital. They were so enormous as to appear almost fabulous to the parsimonious Taoukwang. "Maudite galère! Traître de Turc!"—There was the certainty, at the same time, that these sums had, somehow or other, been expended, and millions upon millions were lost to the state. The autocrat's wrath knew no bounds, and he gave instant orders that the whole should be refunded. But not a twentieth part could by any possibility be recovered. Some of those concerned were in exile; others had destroyed themselves; while several were in prison awaiting the trial for which there had as yet been no leisure. To make matters more desperate, a total financial exhaustion, after such convulsive exertions, was felt from Peking to Canton. The ordinary taxes could not be collected. But in the inanition of the patient consisted his safety. This financial exhaus-

tion maintained the treaty, and was the salvation of the country. The Chinese war party might have gained the ascendancy, and once more embroiled matters; but when their cries were the loudest, a simple inquiry as to the ways and means struck them dumb. When they were promised the honour of being allowed to spend their own property in the glorious struggle, the privilege of collecting dispersed armies and restoring consumed fleets, and conducting them against the hated enemy, they quietly relinquished the luxury of an uncertain revenge in consideration of the price. Peace became the order of the day; — the much abused Keying remained in power, and Eleepoo was despatched to Canton to smooth down difficulties.

But the public fury often demands a victim, and the aged Yupooyun was selected on this occasion. Numerous charges were brought against him. "He is accused," said the emperor, "of not having repaired to the assistance of Chusan, of having lost Chinhae, with scarcely an attempt to repel the enemy, of having retired from Ningpo upon Shangyu and ruined all. During this whole time he neither killed

nor took prisoner a single barbarian, but, anxious to save his own life, was the first to retreat, giving thereby a contagious example for the utter dispersion of the army. While his comrades either fell in battle, or committed suicide as martyrs for their country, he alone chose to drag on a life of ignominy. If he does not suffer death, military discipline can no longer be maintained, nor the spirits of my devoted servants, who rest beneath the earth, remain pacified. Whatever compassion I might feel for Yupooyun is suppressed by the fact that he retreated before the enemy, and an example must be made. I therefore sanction the decision of the council, and decree that he be beheaded in the presence of the president of the Board of Punishments."

This was one of the last of the ill-fated advocates for war, who had rashly undertaken so much more than they could perform. The same sentence was passed upon some others; but after the lapse of a few months the clamour subsided, and the emperor was obliged to listen to the voice of mercy, for one of the censors had more than alluded to the heads of Yihshan and Yihking, the two

princes of the Imperial family who had so miserably performed their parts in the war. "The guilt of these," he argued, "who are the natural supporters of the throne, is so much worse than that of any other individual." To save these two scions of his house, the emperor removed them from their confinement to Toorkistan, where they have since remained forgotten. All others who had been condemned to death, and were waiting their execution in prison, were now respited and punished with confiscation and banishment. The last sentence was softened on the relict of the late emperor reaching her 70th year, when some were permitted to return home after having raised the amount of a heavy fine.

The most untoward circumstance that attended the conclusion of the war was the condition of affairs at Canton. We have seen that, with the exception of that old seat of animosity, the population of the maritime provinces had been either apathetic, or very fairly disposed towards us. But at Canton, the rabble and its leaders had rather added to those stores of hatred, if not contempt, which

their rulers had so long inculcated against foreigners; and to make it worse, the prestige by which those rulers formerly kept them within bounds had been destroyed by the event of the war. When the British squadron was withdrawn, in 1841, from the river, and the dilapidated forts restored to the government, the popular leaders transmitted to Peking an account of their boasted services on the heights behind Canton, accompanying the memorial with the head of a soldier whom they had killed. Of their great and marvellous deeds the emperor was more than duly informed, and, as these seemed to present a contrast to the conduct of his own troops, he not only bestowed praises and rewards, but encouraged the populace to farther acts against the barbarians. Absurd and bombastic proclamations were issued on the part of the people, intended to be offensive, but which were only ridiculous as long as they did not lead to personal insult and violence, their natural consequences.

From this time the popular force was under organization, as far as anything Chinese deserves that name, their leaders having entered

into plans for training their followers, and instituted assemblies for the discussion of state matters and measures of defence. Those who entered these associations no longer obeyed the government officers, but their own chiefs, who, in their turn, directed the mass just as it suited their own views. At one time they assisted, and at another counteracted, the government, and proved powerful enough to expel Yu, the Prefect of Canton, from his office. The mandarins were therefore reduced to courting their favour, and connived at those acts of violence of which they were frequently guilty.

Such being the state of affairs on the conclusion of the Nanking treaty, the news of that event naturally roused the ire of the Canton demagogues. Placards or (so-called) edicts appeared on the part of the people, denouncing the whole as a treasonable convention. The effervescence thus produced was very great. In the beginning of November, 1842, less than three months after the date of the treaty, a popular notice observed, "We have heard that the English foreigners are thinking of moving into this country to dwell,

and that on the outside of the city, along the banks of the river, they have taken plans and sketches, trusting in their power to come and seize on the territory. Now, for the native Chinese and foreigners to mix together will indeed be a vexatious thing, in the highest degree annoying to the feelings. It is a matter which most deeply concerns every one of us, gentry and people, both in our families and in our estates, and can by no means be permitted." This leaven of malice worked so effectually, that on the 7th of December a mob, first attracted by a broil with some Lascar sailors in the streets, proceeded systematically to set fire to the British factories, their especial attention being devoted to the destruction of the flag-staff, which at length fell amidst the shouts of the crowd. The inmates of the factories escaped, but the buildings were effectually destroyed by fire, as well as plundered; though the organized character of the proceeding was clearly marked by some of the ringleaders, or those who appeared to direct the movements of the mass, endeavouring, when satisfied with the burning of the premises, to stop the plunder.

The government paid a pecuniary indemnity on account of the losses, but Canton escaped for the second time; and this cowardly rabble remained in the possession of the comfortable opinion, that they had established their superiority over those foreigners whom their rulers had systematically taught them to hate and despise during a restricted intercourse of some two hundred years. The Chinese government could not but disavow these enormities, and probably regretted their excess, as calculated to renew hostilities, of which they must have had enough; but among some in power there was a secret feeling which rather sympathized with, than disapproved of, the temper which actuated the people against foreigners, and the leaders no doubt received some quiet encouragement.

While the ruins of the British factories were still smoking, the governor Kekung transmitted a memorial to the emperor, stating that the people in their natural indignation had committed some excesses against the grasping barbarians. Not long after came an offer from the north-western villages to join the armed and trained association, and this

received a very gracious answer. According to notices in the Peking gazette, Chinkeutsae, acting governor on the death of Kekung, instituted towards the beginning of 1844 (when the peace had been more than a year concluded) an inquiry into the state of the associated peasantry, and reported to the Emperor that their means of defence were so perfect, and their preparations so complete, that nothing need be apprehended for the future. The names of the principal leaders were at the same time transmitted to Peking, with the offer of the south-eastern districts to enter into a similar association. This was not only fully authorised, but Taoukwang directed that these patriots should make choice of the bravest and ablest among them, receive arms, and form a defence against every danger. Chinkeutsae went in person to review the newly formed bodies, which he found in some places to amount to thousands, and in others above ten thousand of the resident population. About 60,000 dollars in cash were forthwith bestowed, a military mandarin appointed to examine their progress from time to time, and the trained bands considered as constituting part of the national defences of the country.

The chief promoters not only took upon themselves the training of their countrymen, but enhanced their services by large collections of money for rebuilding forts and casting guns, and were, on that account, frequently brought to the notice of the government. Keying and his lieutenant Hwang, in 1845, submitted eighteen names of the most distinguished individuals, and received the imperial approval. The chief merit, in this instance, consisted in having contributed to the building of one of the lodges where meetings were held, and around which the people performed their exercises.

It had, until this new era, been the policy of the government not to trust the people with arms. A regular militia, such as had been always maintained under the control of government officers, was altogether different from this armed populace, who were under their own chiefs. For those who had been bred under despotic rule to be thus on a sudden put in possession of unwonted power, was certainly a dangerous experiment; and the provincial government of Canton has since felt the consequences. Meetings were regularly held,

the measures of their rulers canvassed, resolutions adopted, and often carried into effect. The central society was at Canton, and held its assemblies in a hall belonging to the temple of Confucius, where all important matters were finally decided, and appeals received from the corresponding societies, extending far and wide. As specimens of their acts might be mentioned the burning of the obnoxious Prefect's office, the similar fate of that of another magistrate who had been denounced, and, above all, the determination to inflict death on certain persons who, as policemen at Canton, had screened robbers and not been punished by the authorities; which was, in fact, the exercise of Lynch law. Thus far, therefore, the government was humbled in a very novel manner before democracy; and without much claim to sympathy, for the first impulse had come from itself.

> Nec lex justior ulla est,
> Quàm necis artifices arte perire suâ.

Inasmuch as this concerned only themselves, it mattered little to foreigners; but, as it reacted on foreigners, the results were highly

inconvenient, and productive from time to time of a succession of disorders and troubles; until the public decapitation, in 1847, of four individuals without waiting for the imperial warrant, the subsequent execution by the emperor's order of two more, and the minor punishment of nine others, all more or less concerned in a murderous outrage on British subjects, seemed to have checked similar violence for the future. But the provincial government has, in its own turn, felt the consequences of giving the reins to popular licence. An organized rebellion, still raging, the head of which has assumed the title of emperor, with the professed intent to supplant the Tartar dynasty, has afforded practical proof (whatever may be the result), that a Chinese population is not the fittest in the world to be entrusted with arms and democratic institutions.

One of the most important articles in the treaty of Nanking was that involving the selection of the five ports of trade. This selection was made (with the exception of Canton) under the obvious disadvantage of that very imperfect topographical knowledge which we at that time possessed of the country. Ningpo

and Amoy were, of course, named in the instructions from home, as having been formerly ports of European trade; but Shanghae and Foochow-foo, named in the same instructions, were entirely new. Shanghae had been at least visited, and has turned out, on trial, a most fortunate choice. Foochow-foo was practically unknown to us, but recommended by its geographical position with reference to the black tea districts. This last must be acknowledged to have proved a decided failure, after more than seven years' trial.

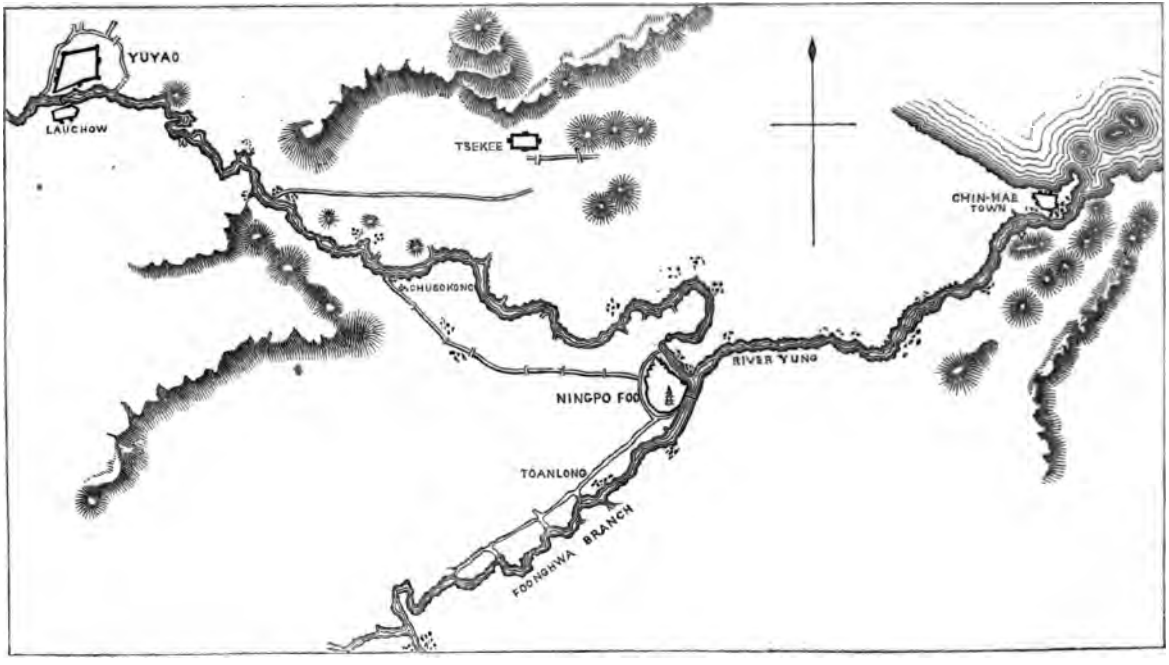
To take them in their turns from the south. I. CANTON, from its position, was originally very ill-suited to the European trade, and was, perhaps, made the sole port by the Chinese government on account of its being the farthest distant from Peking. Its remoteness from the tea-growing provinces, the heat of its climate, ill-suited to English constitutions and to the consumption of our manufactures, and indeed all its features, except the navigation of the port, were natural objections, surmounted by the mere fact of there being no other place to which Europeans could repair. The trade, therefore, large as it was, had been

in a manner forced; but still its established importance, as the growth of so long a period, rendered it likely that any removal must be the work of time and experiment, and not to be effected in a very short period. One great disadvantage, notwithstanding the fineness of the river, has always attended, and must always attend Canton. The English trade in China is best conducted alongside its ships, and the depth of water will not permit most of these to go nearer to Canton than about eight miles. At Shanghae the ships are anchored close to the wharfs of the English station, and at Amoy the anchorage is in front of the town. These are advantages of the greatest importance.

II. The chief drawback at AMOY has been the comparative poverty of the population and smallness of the trade, evils which our commerce itself may cure. The government officers were at first inclined to be troublesome, and attempts were made to form monopolies, as well as to persecute Chinese who had been connected with us; but these were successfully put down. The progress of the port has, perhaps, in some measure, been re-

tarded by the neighbouring and competing stations of the opium ships at Chinchew and Chimmo; but the advantages of the harbour, so safe and easy of access, must operate in favour of Amoy, which has besides long been a market for the Straits' produce of the Malay islands.

III. FOOCHOW-FOO was selected with less actual knowledge of the locality than any of the new ports. Captain Collinson's accurate survey of the river has proved its unfavourable, if not dangerous nature, and there is the same disadvantage as at Canton, that no vessel of any size can approach the city within eight miles. The Proserpine iron steamer, drawing only five feet water, was aground for two hours in passing down the river, and the Spiteful was damaged to such an extent as to require a voyage to Bombay for repairs. The Min is crowded with rocks and shoals, the ebb runs eight knots, and there is a rise and fall of eighteen feet. The picturesque beauties of the stream are as remarkable as its commercial unfitness, and it closely resembles some parts of the Rhine. To the natural disadvantages of this port were added the unfriendly in-



RIVER AND PORT OF NINGPO

trigues of the provincial governor Lew Yunko, as before noticed.

IV. NINGPO is sufficiently well situated as to facility of access, lying about eleven or twelve miles up the river from its entrance at Chinhae, at the confluence of two streams, one of which comes from Tsekee, north, and the other from Foonghwa, south. On the bank of the river, which is less wide than the Thames at Fulham, opposite to the east side of the city, the country house of a once wealthy individual has been converted into the British consulate. The extremely favourable disposition of the people, and the beautiful silks of this place, have not prevented its being cast completely into the shade by the near vicinity and greatly superior advantages of the next new port to the north.

V. SHANGHAE, notwithstanding some difficulties of approach on the outside of its port, admits of merchant vessels entering opposite the city. Here a fine commercial site has been obtained for the British trade, comprising a space of more than a hundred acres for building purposes. It is an airy and open spot, about a mile on the outside of the town,

where a branch of the river conducts to Soochow, and forms an angle with the main stream. The demand for the staple cotton manufactures of Great Britain has here proved very large, as well as the supplies of raw silk in return. The tea trade has likewise become considerable, and we may fairly hope to see this place gradually supplant Canton, where tea must always be dearer on account of the distant land carriage. A most excellent Chinese officer, the intendant of Shanghae, together with the judicious exertions of the British consul, contributed to favour the early rise and progress of this valuable port of trade.

The combined and friendly co-operation of Great Britain, France, and America, since the conclusion of the treaty of Nanking, has proved of the utmost importance in improving and confirming our common relations with China. It was wisely determined by our government that the advantages secured by the treaty should extend to all civilized nations trading with China; and stipulated, at the same time, that British subjects should be entitled to all the additional advantages

that might hereafter be obtained for the subjects of other nations. The good results of this were immediately felt in the treaties soon after concluded with China by ministers deputed from France and America. In these conventions important concessions were obtained, not only for the subjects of those states in whose names they were made, but for those of Great Britain also, as a matter of course: and the English, French, and American treaties have since been printed and bound up together in *one volume* as a common reference for the ascertainment of common civilized rights. The principle could not be better expressed than in the words of the enlightened minister of France in China. "Rien de ce qui peut attester, à cette extrêmité du monde, la cordialité qui règne entre nos deux gouvernements, ne saurait être indifférent. Il est bon que l'on sache à Canton, et plus loin, la solidarité qui unit, au point de vue de la civilisation, les grands peuples de l'Occident; et ces marques de haute estime qui s'accordent mutuellement la France et l'Angleterre produiront au loin une impression dont les conséquences ne sauraient manquer

d'être salutaires." There remains yet enough to be done, to call for the union and co-operation, rather than (what would better suit the Chinese) the division and rivalry of the great communities of the western World.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEW PORTS OF TRADE.

It was not very encouraging to learn, on reaching Hongkong in May, 1844, that the incorrigible rabble of Canton had, only the day before, got up a serious riot ending in bloodshed. The tumult was, in the first instance, excited by the American consul having appended a vane to his high flag-staff, shaped like an arrow. Some sickness which prevailed in the neighbourhood was attributed, by the superstition of the people, to the influence of the arrow pointing towards that place, and an attack was made by the riotous mob with the view of destroying the American flag-staff, as they had before destroyed the English, only three months after the conclusion of the peace. The Americans, however, armed themselves, and effectually dispersed the cowardly rabble, one of whom was luckily shot, an example which served for some time as a check on

their aggressive spirit. A party of marines were sent up from H. M.'s ship Wolverine, to the British consulate as a defensive measure, and it may be supposed that the presence of these men helped to discourage the Cantonese.

Not long after this event, when preparations were making to rebuild the British quarter, which had been burned down by the populace subsequently to the peace, an abusive placard, conceived in the same spirit with all those that preceded and followed it, threatened the like fate to the new Consulate, if it should be rebuilt. It boasted of the power of the people to exclude foreigners from Canton, and declared that, if they again offended, they should not be saved from the vengeance of the patriots by a "Prefect begging peace for them." This of course alluded to the occurrence on the heights at the back of Canton in 1841*, ever since which this foolish populace had entertained an idea of its own superiority, proving that the forbearance exercised on that occasion had been entirely thrown away upon it.

* Vol. I. p. 123.

Under such circumstances, it was satisfactory that the person selected by the emperor to conduct foreign relations was his own kinsman, Keying, who, with Eleepoo (now dead) had been principally instrumental in promoting the conclusion of the peace. It seemed to imply a desire on the part of the court of Peking to maintain the provisions of the late treaty, if not in all their inviolability (as we have seen at the close of the last chapter), yet in the main points, and, in short, — as well as could be expected. The personal character and qualifications of Keying were very much in advance of his countrymen; and the possession of Chusan was a security that all the provisions as to indemnity, at least, would be accurately fulfilled.

At my first interview with Keying, midway between Hongkong and Canton, he appeared gratified on being informed that the military post of Koolangsoo (retained like Chusan as a security) would be evacuated on the payment of the next instalment of the indemnity, in January, 1845. This comparatively unimportant station had required nearly a regiment for its garrison, and was so wholly

valueless by the side of Chusan, that it had justly appeared to Her Majesty's government an opportunity for displaying its confidence and good feeling, by restoring the island before the stipulated time. Another subject seemed less welcome to the Chinese minister, — the proposed legalization of the opium trade. It was represented to him that such a wise and salutary measure would remove all chances of unpleasant occurrences between the two governments; that it might provide an ample revenue for the emperor, and check to the same extent the consumption of a commodity, which was at present absolutely untaxed. There seemed the less difficulty in adopting this step, as, since the peace, not a single edict had been issued against opium, which was openly carried about the streets in chests, and sold like any unprohibited article. But the Chinese government appeared to think that it was less undignified to connive silently at a practice, than directly contradict all its former principles by openly legalizing it. Keying declared that he dared not to originate such a subject on his own part, but that if I would commit my propositions and

arguments to paper, he would venture to submit them to the emperor; and this was agreed to be done.

He then mentioned that he was to proceed from hence to Macao, in order to confer with the newly-arrived American minister, respecting the terms of a commercial treaty with the United States. Allusion was made to its having been already stipulated by the treaty of Nanking, that the advantages conceded by China to one Christian state should be common to all; and it was stated that Her Majesty's government was actuated by sentiments of so much friendship towards both France and America, as to wish that the best relations might be established between them and China; in accordance with which instructions had been received, in the event of an invitation from either or any of the contracting parties, to afford every assistance and friendly mediation for the promotion of the best understanding.

Macao, the half Portuguese, half Chinese settlement, which was to be the place of rendezvous for the negociations with the French and American ministers, had almost received

its death-blow since the formal cession of Hongkong to the British flag. It had, from the first, been nothing more than a portion of the Chinese dominions, on which the Portuguese, paying an annual rent, were permitted to build (under restrictions), and keep a body of about two hundred black troops. The Chinese government, in 1839, drove away the English merchants, without an effort on the part of the Portuguese to prevent it, and thus established the point of its sovereignty. This led to Macao being declared a place "within the dominions of the Emperor of China," in the very first ordinance that was framed at Hongkong, under the authority of the new act for the government of British subjects in that empire. Much umbrage was taken at this by the court of Lisbon; but the plain answer was, that two independent sovereignties could not exist in the same place, and the Portuguese had avowed their inability to afford protection to "their ancient ally," when it was most needed at Macao.

There was at first a mistaken idea that we should have to submit to a divided sovereignty at Hongkong, and I was even told, before

quitting England, that it might be necessary to tolerate the residence of a Chinese mandarin, for the control of the natives. This appeared, however, so highly objectionable, that it soon grew absolutely necessary to prevent the island becoming a second Macao. Hongkong was strictly a crown colony, gained by right of conquest, and formally ceded by treaty. By the 3rd Article, that island is made over to Great Britain for ever, "to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty shall see fit to direct." The Chinese government itself had the prudence very soon to drop all ideas of claiming any jurisdiction there, and though some infractions of our sovereignty were at first attempted, they were put down in such a manner as prevented their recurrence. The opinions of the law officers of the Crown were quite conclusive as to the impossibility of abandoning our complete jurisdiction over the Chinese inhabitants, without converting the sovereignty of the island into a mere occupancy. The most impudent attempt at invasion was on the part of a Chinese functionary, who endeavoured to levy contributions from the

natives in the south of the island; but he was towed round in his own boat to Victoria, at the stern of a war steamer, and kept a prisoner for three weeks, until his act had been formally disavowed by his government.

There never was much danger of an open violation of the provisions of the treaty on any point, but attempts of an evasive and subdolous description were sufficiently in unison with our past experience of the Chinese character. The first few years subsequent to the peace required especial caution in establishing our rights with a people so tenacious of precedent. It was at this early period that the trials were made, and their discomfiture settled the questions for ever. Clear as the stipulation might appear to be, by which the Hong monopoly had been abolished by the treaty of Nanking, I had not been more than a month in correspondence with the Chinese minister, when a surprising proposal was made in reference to that important subject.

The government had charged the late Hong merchants with the payment of three millions of dollars, as a part of the amount

wrested from it for the ransom of Canton. The free-trade and competition under the treaty, had, of course, deprived these persons of the exclusive rights which had previously enabled them to meet the exactions of the government. The authorities at Canton would, therefore, gladly have reverted to something like the former monopoly, at least until the three millions in question had been obtained. It was painful to find Keying aiming at an indirect return to the old system, by proposing that I should consent to the number of one hundred licensed merchants at Canton; as if the mere *number* was the point involved in the treaty, and not the *principle.* There could be no other reply to this, than the declaration that any such proceeding would be an absolute violation of treaty engagements, and it would be my duty to resist every attempt to interfere with the perfect freedom of competition at Canton. The Chinese minister readily perceived that the case was hopeless, though, as usual with him when frustrated in any project, his good humour and courtesy remained unshaken. "Since it was expressly stipulated (he de-

clared in his note) that the Hong merchants were to be abolished, I instantly acquiesce. The proposal in my former letter for establishing one hundred firms, arose from my apprehension that the new merchants would not possess sufficient stability to be relied upon; that they would be so scattered as to defy all control, which might give rise to frauds and the contracting of debts. But as this proposal is not in accordance with the treaty, and the honourable Envoy declines to accede to it, I willingly acquiesce."

Much remained to be done at the four new ports. That of Foochow-foo had not yet been opened, but in June, 1844, Mr. Tradescant Lay was despatched as consul to that city, with such a limited establishment as the yet untried, and not very promising, features of the place seemed to warrant. His knowledge of the language pointed him out as a very fit person to assist in opening out such capabilities as that hitherto unknown port might be found to possess, and his early report of the people and their peculiar ways, differing in many respects from the rest of their countrymen, were curious and interesting.

But the most unfavourable circumstance at Foochow-foo was the notoriously unfriendly character of the viceroy Lewyunko, who had figured during the war as the declared enemy of foreigners, and it was therefore not likely that he would prove very friendly to the growth of foreign intercourse under his government. Being a thorough Chinese, it was his character to oppose us by intrigue rather than by any open show of unfriendliness; and his conduct gave me very serious trouble for many months, as Keying at first endeavoured to support him. The chief point of discussion was the residence of Her Majesty's consuls within the town, not only at Foochow, but Amoy also, this last port being also under the control of Lewyunko, as governor of Fokien province. The pretext for refusing was one which at Canton had some foundation in truth, but at these other places none whatever, — the disinclination of the people. Finding at length that the hollow plea would not be tolerated, the point was given up at both places, and I had the satisfaction of establishing our consuls in fitting residences at Foochow-foo and Amoy

about the commencement of 1845,—of which more hereafter.

But to obtain a personal knowledge of the character and capabilities of the four new ports secured to us by treaty, it became necessary to inspect them, and I was glad to accept the invitation of the naval commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Cochrane, to accompany him to the north in the Agincourt flag-ship. We quitted Victoria on the 28th of August, and reached Chusan on the 14th of September, going round the eastern side of Formosa* on account of the lateness of the season. The arrangements at Chusan were in excellent order. Nothing could exceed the good humour and contentedness of the native Chinese, so different from the assumptions in Yukien's mock declaration during the war.†

* A northerly current set us 184 miles in spite of contrary winds and calms. The east coast of Formosa is set down in the charts several degrees too far to the eastward; the island therefore is considerably narrower than the old charts make it. The west coast only was surveyed by the Jesuits; and the Chinese maps state that the east side is still occupied by the aborigines. It appeared to us extremely mountainous and wild, abounding in lofty cascades and torrents.

† Vol. I. p. 191.

it was impossible to traverse the suburb between the sea and the town without observing plain proofs of the good understanding existing between the military and the people. In one shop might be seen inscribed, "Stultz, Tailor, from London;" in another, "Ici on parle Français;" indications of any thing rather than ill-humour and oppression. In fact, the people of Tinghae (the capital) enjoyed opportunities of enriching themselves by industry during our occupation which may not very soon recur; though Chusan is a point of such importance, political and military, if not commercial, that the course of time and events might again some day make us acquainted with it. Meanwhile, the topographical, nautical, and every other species of information regarding the neighbourhood is complete, including a perfect survey and a detailed memoir concerning the whole island.

The only irregularities that had arisen among the Chinese population were found to have been the results of a too indulgent rule, and an inadequate scale of summary punishments. It was soon discovered by the

criminal portion of the population, that the military magistrate had not the power of exceeding the award of those very trifling penalties hitherto adjudged to them, and the consequence had been a continual repetition and aggravation of the same offences for which they had already suffered. Under these circumstances, I had no hesitation in fixing a maximum of punishment exceeding the previous scale, which was attended with the desired effect of repressing crime. Our temporary subjects at Chusan were somewhat surprised at the difference between criminal justice administered by us and by their own mandarins. Some idea may be gathered of Chinese notions of evidence from the following answer, returned in 1843 to the British plenipotentiary, on his offering to forward some European witnesses in a case of piracy:—

"Regarding what is said in your Excellency's despatch, as to a certain Portuguese and an English officer being sent to the city to give evidence in this instance, it no doubt arises from a desire to exercise care and caution; but in cases of murder, piracy, and the like*,

* Involving capital punishment.

we of the Central land, if we get at the real facts of the case at once, do not consider it necessary to multiply evidence, which merely causes confusion, and we are thus spared the evil of such criminal cases becoming interminable. Besides, it has never been the custom hitherto for officers to be confronted with criminals." The value of Chinese evidence may be estimated from the fact, that it is very often given under torture.

The Chinese government, on the conclusion of the peace, being obliged to leave Chusan in our hands as a general security for the payment of the indemnity and due observance of other articles of the treaty, betrayed the utmost anxiety to keep the control of the inhabitants entirely in its own hands. So bad a use of this had been made during our first occupation, that it was wisely determined to keep Chinese influence entirely out of the island. But the task at first was not easy; and Keying himself lent his influence to the representations made by Lewyunko, the governor on the opposite main (who has been more than once mentioned as a wily Chinese intriguer), of the dreadful oppression suffered

by the Chusanites, which it is scarcely needful to state was all a fable. "The intention of the English commanding officer," said that functionary, "is no other than to seek the good of the people, but his measures are of such a nature that it is impossible they should be carried out; and in the endeavour to do so, it is to be apprehended that evil-minded people, desirous of the enmity of the two nations, may be stirring up strife in the hope of profiting thereby. Let it be supposed that a popular revolt should in consequence thereof be excited, the governor-general really fears that the commanding officer at Chusan would not be able to answer for it to the honourable plenipotentiary; and he is still more afraid that the people of the various provinces, hearing thereof, may be confirmed in their prejudices, so that future commercial intercourse will be much impeded."

This kind solicitude was entirely superfluous. English misgovernment continued at Chusan; no strife was stirred up, no revolts took place, and the people firmly believed that the island would never be restored to China. In spite, however, of the plain understanding

that, during our occupation of Chusan, no Chinese officer should exercise jurisdiction on the island, two emissaries were seized towards the end of 1844, by Brigadier Campbell, in the act of executing warrants of arrest on certain of the natives of the island. To have returned these men to the very persons who employed them, with a full knowledge of the treaty provisions, seemed futile, and I accordingly had them conveyed southward in the Sapphire troop ship, and delivered over with a remonstrance to Keying, who put an end to future abuses of the kind.

Chusan, from its position near the mouth of the Yangtsekeang, and the high road to the grand canal, may again one day become of importance. It is placed just under 30° of latitude, the finest imaginable situation as to climate, which proved unusually favourable to our troops during the second occupation of four years, though they had not the advantage of permanently constructed barracks. From an accurate trigonometrical survey, the circumference is $51\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the length $20\frac{3}{4}$, the extreme breadth $10\frac{1}{2}$, and the least breadth 6. It contains, therefore, more than

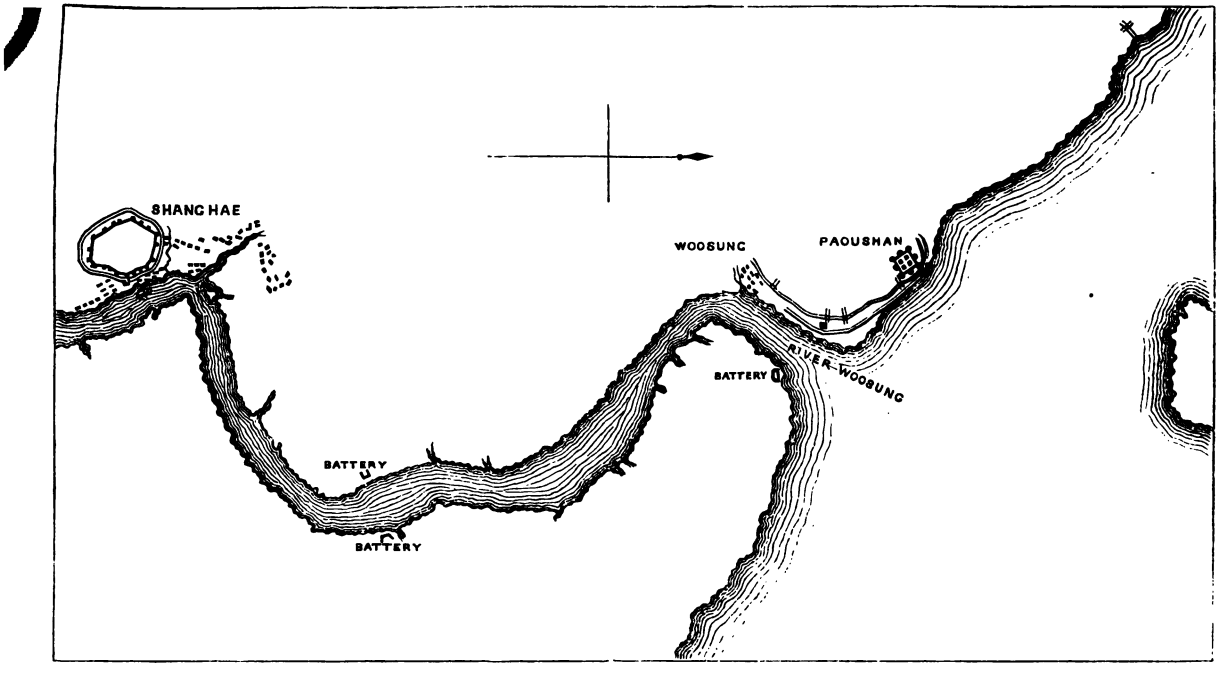
four times the area of Hongkong, but has much more level surface. The tea that is grown on the island is fit for exportation, though not very carefully prepared for a foreign mart. It is, however, in the precise latitude of the tea-growing provinces of China, and the plant might be produced to any extent. The silk-worm thrives in the island, but is now merely kept by a few females who take an interest in wearing homespun dresses. At Hoochow, one day's sail from Chusan, is the principal district for the production of the raw silk of commerce. The culture of this important article might therefore be extended.

Tinghae, the chief town, is a poor place, though, as usual, surrounded with a good wall, which however affords it but little military security. On the west side is the hill where the Cameronians were encamped, and whence the town was escaladed on the second capture. This mount looks as if placed there expressly to assist the ingress of an enemy. It interrupts the ditch which elsewhere surrounds the walls, and actually advances into the town, the rampart being carried over the

hill, while another much higher hill commands it at a short distance. On the west of the town, in the lowest part of the ridge over which the last attack was made, is a round fort with loopholes for musketry, so placed that it is commanded on either side by two eminences, and can be approached out of gun-shot. The Chinese are incurably absurd, and too proud to be taught in the science of military defence. Notwithstanding the experience of the war, the batteries in the Canton river still have embrasures, or rather gateways, which would admit a lord mayor's coach, with folding doors of wood, by way of providing plenty of splinters for the garrison.

Only eighteen miles from Tinghae, and on the east of Chusan, is the small island of Pooto, one of the head quarters of Buddhism in this part of the world, abounding still with priests, and covered with innumerable temples and idols, but bearing witness to the rapid decay of this superstition in the general aspect of ruin and desolation that pervades the place. The solid granite pavements, however, are calculated to endure for ages. A good road of this kind extends nearly the

whole length of the island, about three miles. The most extensive establishment we found towards the eastern side, covering a vast space of ground, and remarkable for acres of costly granite terracing of the handsomest description, as well as gateways, palaces, and temples, spreading on all sides. It is said that no female whatever is permitted on the island, and we certainly saw none during our stay. The plantations of oak and ash, and the heaps of autumnal leaves on the ground, gave an European look to the scene. The camphor tree grows very large, and is cut for timber. An enormous boulder of granite, resting apparently on a point, had been deeply engraved with gigantic characters. This place, among others of the kind, is a standing proof of the complete manner in which the Chinese have disembarrassed themselves of the ancient religion of Buddha. Our missionaries do not complain of their bigoted adherence to either that or any other persuasion of their own, but rather of such a total want of inclination for religious instruction of any kind, as makes it extremely difficult to engage their attention



PORT OF SHANGHAE.

or to produce the slightest impression on them.

SHANGHAE.—From Chusan to Shanghae occupied little more than a day in the Medusa steamer. Her Majesty's consul was established within the walls of the town, in a handsome Chinese mansion, suitably furnished. This commercial city had been little prepared for the exigencies of war. The walls, something under five miles in circumference, have, as usual, a mound within the parapet, on which the whole circuit can be traversed; but this mound has in many places sunk so low, that the loopholes of the parapet can scarcely be reached. Near to a portion of the wall are the remains of that huge pawnbroking or banking establishment which was sacked and plundered in 1842. The vast warehouses for deposits, within high walls of their own, stood empty and desolate, having nothing remaining except the racks and presses, duly labelled, in which goods to an immense amount had been piled in the various rooms and galleries up to the very roof. One room had been devoted to jewellery and other valuables, and the labels were still on the drawers.

Some charitable institutions at Shanghae are deserving of notice. We inspected an almshouse devoted to the support of a certain number of old and destitute men. The place seemed well adapted to the purpose, but was somewhat out of order. The directions of the magistrates, with the rules of the establishment, were hung up to view, and there was a book in which the entry of the inmates was noted. The next institution, and a much larger one, was where the sick are attended gratis. On the outside waited a crowd to receive their tickets of admission; these being obtained, they proceeded in turn to the interior hall, where a number of doctors were seated at separate tables, feeling pulses and interrogating their patients. One clerk noted down the symptoms, and another wrote the prescriptions, which were dispensed gratis. The whole appeared to be conducted in an extremely respectable and sensible manner, and the activity of the institution is said to have been promoted by the exertions of Mr. Lockhart, a medical missionary, who, like the American Dr. Parker, at Canton, relieves sick and blind persons gratuitously.

The Chinese intendant at Shanghae, the principal civil officer, proved extremely friendly, and to his good feeling and exertions may be attributed a large portion of the early prosperity of this new port of trade. I arranged with him the hitherto unsettled question of boundaries for the excursions of the English according to treaty. A district magistrate had taken it on himself to stop a boat in a very unauthorized manner, and the intendant pledged himself that this should not again occur. In lieu of definitely marked limits, which might carry with them a disagreeable impression of restraint, it was agreed that excursions should be confined to the distance that might be performed in a day. No limits at all would have been more agreeable; but the supplementary treaty had provided expressly for their imposition. The public gardens of Shanghae have been described in the first volume.*

A fourth of the area within the walls of Shanghae is cultivated ground, which, as well as the country on the outside, is tilled with all

* Page 266.

the care of a garden. The early crops consist of wheat and barley, which are sown in the winter, and advance rapidly to maturity. The sweet potato is not so universal as at Chusan, but varied with the petsae, the egg-plant, a small species of bean, and other culinaries. The peaches were out of season, but are said to be very fine; walnuts and chesnuts abound; but though the climate, 31° degrees, be the best for grapes, they are very poor, in consequence of neglect or ignorant management; while nothing repays care and culture so well as the vine. The pine apple, so common in the south, will not flourish up here.

As the intendant of Shanghae insisted on giving me a Chinese feast, there was no evading it. One of the first dishes consisted exclusively of duck's tongues, and on our lamenting the slaughter that must have produced such a delicacy, the information was given that ducks are usually sold without their tongues, which are reserved to be dressed by themselves. Another strange *ragoût* proved to be the flowers of the common China rose, dressed whole. Here the

mixture of salt, sour, and other indescribable flavours forbade a repetition. Being shown a Chinese bottle from the tombs at Thebes in Egypt, our host pronounced in favour of its antiquity, on account of the smoothness of the standing part, which he said was always rough in modern China.

The unrivalled advantages of the position of Shanghae, the friendliness of the native authorities, and the zeal and exertions of the consul, were all pledges of the prosperity of this port of trade, which may be expected in no long period to surpass Canton. At that ancient seat of commerce, the people had, by their vicious and hostile propensities, long forfeited all claim to regard or sympathy; and it would be satisfactory to see them deprived of that foreign intercourse from which the wealth and importance of their city has been entirely derived.

NINGPO.—Quitting Shanghae at noon on the 24th of September, the steamer reached the entrance of the Tahea, or Ningpo river, at half-past seven on the following morning. Upon a hill 200 feet high, on the right, stood the remains of the citadel of Chinhae, opposite to

which the two line-of-battle ships had been anchored.* The buildings and trees still bore abundant marks of shot. The opposite side to the left is crowned by the hills on which the Chinese army was placed, and from whence they were driven into the river with fearful slaughter. The city of Ningpo is about twelve miles above the entrance, at the confluence of two streams, one coming from Tsekee, north, and the other from Foonghwa, south. On the bank of the river opposite to the east side of the city is the British consulate, consisting of the house of a once wealthy individual, covering a large space of ground. Here was no other obstacle to a residence in the city than the simple fact, that all the best houses and official residences within the walls had been destroyed in the war.

On the 26th I proceeded, accompanied by the consul, to inspect the city, which we entered by the north-east gate, and walked along the ramparts to the north, opposite to which the Modeste had repulsed the fire-rafts in the night-attack of the 10th of March.†

* Vol. I. p. 199. † Vol. I. p. 229.

Keeping the wall on our right we arrived at length at the west gate, celebrated for the gallant defence made by a party of the 18th, under Lieut. Armstrong, against some thousands on the same occasion. The whole wall is in good repair, and averages a breadth of eighteen feet within the parapet, round the whole circuit of about five miles. We next reached the south entrance of the city, which is close to a water-gate that admits the canal into the town.* From hence, entering the streets northwards, we proceeded to the seven-storied Pagoda, whence a good view is obtained of the whole town and the rich country in the neighbourhood. We came afterwards suddenly upon two men in separate boats, fishing with the tame cormorant or pelican. A dozen of these birds accompanied the boats, continually diving for fish, while the men with

* As this was found subservient to the nefarious system of kidnapping, it was closed up during our occupation. The city has six gates. The shape of the enceinte is that of a pear, with the large end to the south. The artificial ditch, where there is no river, is fed from the latter, and appears unusally deep and broad, having been excavated when the immense mound of the walls was thrown up.

a slender bamboo each kept them from straying, and occasionally encouraged, or scolded, or chastised the birds.

When the Chinese authorities came to pay their visit at the consulate, I had desired that the guard should receive them, as usual, with presented arms; but one of the mandarins, who had never witnessed the manœuvre, looked as if he expected the next move would be into his own body, and appeared considerably disconcerted. The explanation proved quite satisfactory, and he regained his composure. One of the number was intendant of Ningpo at its capture, for which untoward occurrence he had been deprived of his button, and condemned by the emperor to serve eight years without pay, a very convenient mode of punishment in the present poverty of the finances. It became necessary here, also, to undergo an entertainment at head quarters. It proved, however, very talkative and agreeable, and the mandarins were especially curious to learn all particulars of the expected French minister, and the naval force he was bringing with him, perhaps suspicious of any European

diplomacy that professed merely peaceful objects.

The limits of the port of Ningpo were fixed at Chinhae, at the river's entrance; and with the recommendation and concurrence of the consul, whose local knowledge was complete, I settled that the limits of inland excursions should extend to the precincts of *Yinhien*, the large district in which Ningpo is situated. The future places of English residence were likely to be in the neighbourhood of the consulate, but only one merchant had yet arrived. The near neighbourhood of the preferable emporium, Shanghae, interferes greatly with Ningpo, although its harbour is pretty safe and commodious. The embroidered silks, from their extreme beauty worthy of notice, are sold in the best street of the city, near the east gate. The superior shops are in a kind of recess apart from the main street, and approached privately. But the most striking were the furniture shops, competing in size and richness with those of our upholsterers. The species of inlaid work, highly varnished, in which they deal, seems peculiar to Ningpo; and some beautifully carved bedsteads (each

a little room or tabernacle in itself) were priced at 150 dollars.

The consul, who had been attached to the force in occupation of Chinhae during the war, recounted the particulars of the proceedings adopted in giving suitable burial to the body of the unfortunate Mr. Stead, who having been kidnapped (as related in Vol. I.), was tortured and put to a cruel death by Yukien, opposite to his own residence. The situation of the body having been pointed out to the British commandant, he caused it to be placed in a new coffin, and carried in military funeral procession to the place where Mr. Stead had been executed. The bier being there put down, a party of sappers proceeded to demolish the mansion of Yukien, which was razed to the ground. A proclamation was then issued in explanation of the cause, and the funeral concluded in the regular manner. We may here observe the total want of decorum among the people of this part of China in regard to their own dead. Hundreds of coffins are left above ground for years, some with only a thatching of straw, others with nothing over them; while many

may be seen half rotten with the lids off, and the bones within exposed. This barbarous custom is unknown to the south.

The distance from Ningpo to Chusan is only thirty-six miles. In passing down the river large crowds were assembled on both shores to observe the steamer, which was still a novel sight. The right bank is conspicuous with multitudes of ice-houses, very sensibly contrived so as to have effectual drainage at bottom, and the roofs composed of thick straw thatching. This ice lasts through the whole summer, and is used in the preservation of fish, a proof of the practical sense and resources of the Chinese. The voyage from Chusan to the mouth of the river Min, on which Foochow-foo is situated, was performed in the Castor frigate, and occupied as much as five days, in consequence of calms and light winds. The difficult and dangerous character of the river made it necessary to anchor to the lee of some islands called Pih-keuen, "White Dogs," and to send for the Proserpine steamer, which was waiting for us higher up. On the 11th of October, by the aid of very favourable circumstances, we

threaded the intricacies of this rapid stream, closely resembling portions of the Rhine, and arrived below the bridge at Foochow at 3 P. M.

FOOCHOW. — The consul was lodged in a very miserable dwelling in the suburb above the bridge, and on the side of the river opposite to the city. The unsuitable nature of his abode was so discreditable to the authorities, and so characteristic of the well-known unfriendly disposition of the viceroy, Lewyunko, that I determined to make this the express reason for having no personal communication with him, and at the same time the subject of a serious representation to Keying. The city lies on the left, or north bank of the river, and in proceeding with the consul to inspect the Pagoda within the town, and view the country from its summit, we crossed the very long and narrow bridge which, like the Pont Neuf and others at Paris, connects an island in the middle with the two sides. This bridge being only for foot passengers, does not consist of arches, but of long slabs of stone laid across stone abutments. Strong angular buttresses resist the tide, which runs with great

fury at the ebb. The breadth of the bridge, notwithstanding its length, does not exceed ten feet, and even this space is encumbered with shops or booths on one side. After passing through a long suburb, or rather street, of a mile and a half, we reached the city gate, which is handsome, and surmounted by a high building like the gates of Peking. The Pagoda is not far from the gate, and placed in the midst of a monastery in better condition than usual, with plenty of fat priests.

The crowds which had attended us through the streets attempted to accompany us to the Pagoda, but were prevented by some of the police at our desire; and in order to avoid the annoyance of the same multitudes we returned in chairs. Many of the shops were observed to be stocked with artificial flowers, the general use of which distinguishes the women of this town and province from others. There is a greater look of cleanliness and respectability about them, and they are said to exercise considerable influence over the men, and to hold a more important station in society than in other parts of China.

The consul stated that the mandarins,

whether they thought so or not, spoke despairingly of Foochow as a mart for foreigners, the merchants having no capital, and paying with *Peaou*, bills or promissory notes, precisely similar to our provincial bank notes, but generally for much smaller sums. These become the sources of distrust, losses, and altercation; and the alleged excuse for their adoption is the scarcity of silver, as well as the bulk and weight of the copper coin. Foochow is a great mart for deal spars and timber, brought down the tributaries of the river Min from neighbouring districts. Judging from the number of vessels to which these spars are lashed, and the large rafts afloat, the produce must be considerable. The sugar is of a fine quality and cheap, but it comes from Formosa. With regard to climate, the thermometer in July is frequently at or near 100°. The barometer is nearly stationary, traversing little more than $\frac{2}{10}$ths in a month, by imperceptible degrees, while the air is generally verging to the point of extreme dryness.

On the same day the provincial treasurer, accompanied by the præfect of the city, came on board the Proserpine, with abundance of

apologies from Lew Tajin, for which I was fully prepared. It became necessary to point out to the treasurer the intolerable nature of the consul's residence, and to declare, that unless he was allowed to provide himself with something better, I would not permit him to remain at Foochow, considering his treatment as a violation of the treaty provisions. That he ought to live within the walls, or at least on the same side of the river, and below the bridge; that instead of remaining here to discuss the question with the viceroy, it would be better to refer the whole matter to the emperor's representative, Keying, who, no doubt, would be as ready to do what was right on the occasion, as he would be surprised and vexed to hear from me of the unworthy treatment of H. M.'s consul.

Accordingly, the following morning was fixed for quitting the river, which it was necessary to do with the flood-tide; but in spite of all precautions, and the advantages possessed by an iron steamer drawing so little water, we were soon aground on a sandbank, which is nearly dry at low water. After lying there for two hours, there was some

difficulty in passing a barrier of sunken junks, made during the war, and forming an artificial obstacle in addition to the numerous natural dangers of the river.

Amoy. — It was satisfactory to be once again on board the frigate, and under way towards Amoy, the fourth and last of the new ports, which we reached in only nineteen hours. Here the access for vessels of every description is perfect, and far easier than at any of the other emporiums, with the additional advantage (not possessed at Foochow, nor even Canton) of anchoring close to the places of business. Our garrison was still in possession of Koolangsoo, until the receipt of the next instalment of the indemnity, and the consul was also resident for the present on that small island, which is just one mile in length. The local authorities came out to make their visit in boats from Amoy, namely, the Tetuh, or admiral, the commissioner of customs, and four others. This seemed a favourable opportunity for drawing their attention to the consul's complaint of attempts on the part of individuals to monopolize the trade, which they promised should be rectified.

The little island of Koolangsoo is moderately diversified by rising grounds, topped in the most striking manner with heaps of enormous granite boulders, larger than we ever before met with. These constitute the great feature of the place. On the north-east side are some interesting tombs of an old date, to the memory of persons who died here a century and a half ago, during our former resort to Amoy, and which are as intact, and perhaps more so, than if they had been placed in an English church-yard. One is dated 1698, to the memory of "Mr. Duffield, son of Captain Duffield commanding the Trumbull;" another, in 1710, to "Mr. Swynfen, of the Prosperous from Surat." On proceeding with the consul to visit the town of Amoy over the water, as well as the Citadel, both proved to be built, not on eminences, but on low ground, some of it gained from the sea. The Citadel consists of a moderate space surrounded by a high wall, and partially occupied by buildings. The town is exceedingly dirty, but populous, and bears a busy appearance. It will no doubt improve by the foreign trade, for which some spirit is shown, and this port will

apparently be second only to Shanghae among the new ones. Though the consul was residing at Koolangsoo with the garrison, the consulate or place of business was at Amoy, close to the collector of customs.

The 200 gun battery, on the side opposite to Koolangsoo, is a curious remnant of the war. Entering the extremity next the town, and walking along the whole range southward to the other end, where it was entered by the British force, is a distance of a mile or more. The honey-combed guns were lying about without carriages, just as they were left, all of them spiked, and some with the trunnions knocked off. They averaged from nine to twelve pounders, and there was one either in or near each of the embrasures, or rather ports, which were so close to the ground that it was requisite to stoop in order to see through them. Most of the guns bore the date of the 11th year of Keaking, 1806. On reaching the southern extremity, where a thinner flanking wall is carried up the hill, appears the gate which was opened by the escalading party of the 18th, under Col. Tomlinson. The English force proceeded along

the road towards the Jos-house, and across the parade-ground of the Chinese garrison. The temple, although half a mile from the scene of action, had been perforated in many parts with cannon shot, and a sixty-eight pound ball was lying in one of the courts for the admiration of the natives.

The front of this temple, the whole of which is in rapid decay, exhibits three pavilions with green tiles covering huge stone tablets engraved (in pairs) with Chinese and Tartar characters, inscriptions conferred by the emperor. These tablets were all on the backs of stone tortoises. The tortoise is an emblem of strength and durability, sometimes implied by a Boa constrictor vainly twisting its folds round the hard shell of the other reptile, which seems to deride its fruitless efforts. Near to this spot is the place where the Chinese were still occupied in founding guns when the place was taken. The fragments of clay moulds, the remains of fused metal, and a number of the half-finished pieces were still on the ground. The largest bore the inscription that it was cast in the summer of 1851, by Yen the viceroy, and Lew the

lieutenant-governor, of the province, and that it weighed 10,000 catties, or nearly six tons. Being cast muzzle downwards, the more drossy portion of the metal had collected in the breech, which was honeycombed.

Quitting Amoy on the 16th of October, the frigate reached Hongkong on the 18th. The general result of this survey of the new ports was sufficiently clear and decisive. Shanghae and Amoy, but especially the former, possessed all the elements of commercial success, and were likely to be flourishing emporia, if they had only freedom and fair play. Ningpo might improve in some degree after the evacuation of Chusan, but was too near to Shanghae not to be impoverished by it; while Foochow, with its dangerous river and numerous other drawbacks, afforded very little prospect of any European trade whatever.

CHAPTER III.

FRENCH AND AMERICAN TREATIES. — GENERAL PROSPECTS OF COMMERCE.

THE year 1844 was signalized by the conclusion of commercial treaties with China, on the part of both France and America. These were rendered subjects of general interest by the fact already adverted to, that, according to the stipulations of the English treaty, the advantages secured by one Christian state were to become the common property of all.*

* This was handsomely acknowledged by the minister of more than one European state. — "Comme par l'article VIII. de la convention supplémentaire du 8 Oct. 1843, la Grande Bretagne, dans un esprit généreux, digne du caractère de la puissance qui la première a ouvert la Chine à l'Europe, stipule aussi pour d'autres nations la liberté de faire le commerce dans les Cinq ports sous les mêmes conditions que celles qui furent accordées à la Grande Bretagne."—Again, "Depuis que par un noble et généreux désintéressement la Grande Bretagne a ouvert le commerce de la Chine à toutes les nations."—Compare the results of the miserable policy of the Dutch in Japan, and of the Portuguese in China, with the above (even on

The American minister justly observed, "The supplementary English treaty stipulates that any new privileges conceded by China to other nations, shall be enjoyed also by England, and there is a similar provision in the treaty of Wanghia (American), and thus whatever progress either government makes, in opening this vast empire to the influence of foreign commerce, is for the common good of each other and of all Christendom." The American treaty was comprised in thirty-four, the French in thirty-six articles, embodying all that was contained in our treaty of Nanking, our supplementary treaty, and our regulations of trade, with some important additions, which time and experience had since suggested.

It may, therefore, be useful, as well as interesting, to review succinctly the general provisions which are to regulate the future intercourse, not only of England, but of all

selfish considerations), and it suggests at once a sort of peaceful crusade of civilized Christendom to semi-civilized China and the *Indo-Chinese nations.* (See end of this volume.) Combined, they would be irresistible, but perhaps beaten in detail, seeing that China hopes to set one against the other.

civilized states with China. Besides the particular grievances which had originated the war, peculiar to Great Britain, and in which other nations had no share, there were those general impediments or hindrances to the growth of all friendly and beneficial intercourse with China, in which every other civilized country was concerned, and which were first removed by the English treaty. These may be stated under five heads.

1. The confinement of the trade to the single port of Canton; that single port at the southern extremity of the empire, farthest removed from the court, and from those provinces which produced the principal articles of Chinese export, or consumed those of foreign import.

2. The restriction of the privilege of trading with foreigners to a small body of monopolists, called Hong merchants, who had not only the exclusive right of dealing with the subjects of Christian states, but were invested with the actual control over them, as a barrier between them and the government of the country.

3. The oppressive nature and amount of

the burthens on foreign trade, and of the fiscal regulations to which that trade was subject.

4. The intolerable nature of the jurisdiction claimed by the Chinese over Europeans, and the unjust and unequal manner in which their laws (especially in cases of homicide) were sought to be executed upon foreigners.

5. The degrading terms of inequality on which the Chinese government had hitherto conducted its intercourse with the civilized states of the west, and the affected superiority which it had allowed its functionaries to assume over the representatives of authorities of those states in their official correspondence.

These principal evils, barriers as they were to all improvement in European relations with the country, were removed and remedied by corresponding stipulations in the English treaty.

1. British subjects were to carry on their mercantile pursuits, and to be allowed to reside "without molestation or restraint," at the "cities and towns," not only of Canton, but Amoy and Foochow-foo in Fokien pro-

vince, Ningpo in Chĕkeang, and Shanghae in Keangnân.

2. The Emperor of China agreed to abolish the exclusive privileges of the Hong merchants, and to permit British merchants to carry on their trade at all the five ports with whatever persons they chose.

3. He agreed to establish at all the five ports a fair and permanent tariff of export and import duties, the said tariff to be publicly notified and promulgated for general information.

4. The English government was to enact the laws necessary for the control of its own subjects in China, who were to be under the immediate authority of consular officers stationed at each of the five ports, and amenable only to them, under the Plenipotentiary.

5. The chief functionary of the British crown in China was to correspond with the Chinese high officers, both at the capital and in the provinces, on terms of perfect equality; and the same rule was to be observed between the subordinate officers of the two countries respectively.

These were the principal and fundamental

stipulations which were to constitute the basis of future intercourse with China. They were all of them repeated in the French and American treaties respectively; but in those treaties were also added some minor, though important, stipulations for the general benefit of the same intercourse.

By the American treaty it was settled, that a merchant vessel might remain two days at any of the five ports without paying tonnage dues, provided she discharged none of her cargo.

That a vessel, having once paid her tonnage dues, might go from one of the five ports to another, without being required to pay them a second time.

That any merchant ship, having landed her cargo and paid the duties thereon, might re-ship any portion of the landed goods and take them to another port for sale, with a certificate exempting them from a second payment of duties.

Provision was made for the employment of Chinese subjects in teaching the language of the country, and the free purchase of all Chinese books was legalized; it having been

hitherto customary for the government to oppress and maltreat any of its subjects who imparted such knowledge, or sold such books to foreigners.

In the French treaty there is this important stipulation, at Article XXX. Every ship of war, cruising for the protection of commerce, shall be received and treated in a friendly manner in *all* the ports of China at which she may touch. Article II., which limits *merchant vessels* to the five ports, on pain of confiscation, expressly cites the above article for the exception in favour of ships of war. There was occasion more than once, between the years 1844 and 1848, to quote this provision in assertion of the right of Her Majesty's ships to do the same.

Another important article is that by which it was agreed, that "twelve years after the exchange of ratifications," a revision might take place of the treaty and tariffs through the medium of ministers properly constituted by the respective governments. A similar provision exists in the American treaty, but with this difference, that the twelve years were to count from the date of the instrument, and

not from the exchange of ratifications. If, on the approach of the period (1855-6), the governments of England, France, and America could agree and contrive to act in concert and alliance on the occasion (which in fact is the *spirit* in which the treaties were made), it would naturally add immensely to the weight and consistency of the negociations, and be a rare opportunity for opening still wider the gates of China to the civilized world.*

The only modifications of the tariff of custom duties, previously established by the English treaty, were a reduction, by the American, of the duty on the article of lead, and by the French, of the duties on wines and cloves, in all which reductions we of course participate. But it was practically proved that, for such modifications of the tariff, it was not necessary to wait twelve years, or to

* Keying, in recognizing the participation of Great Britain in the foregoing stipulation, added, with the caution of a Chinese minister, "It is not said that after twelve years the previous treaty ought no longer to be observed, but that each party must appoint ministers to determine on the new regulations." That is, that the treaty was not to expire, but only be modified or improved.

have a special revision of the treaty; for in 1845 I negociated with Keying a reduction of the duty on earthenware; and in 1848, another reduction on rough timber, from 10 to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*.

So perfect and complete was the acknowledgment on every side that each was negociating for all, that I received officially certified copies of the French and American treaties from M. de Lagrené and Commodore Parker in China, while the Chinese copies were sent in the same manner by Keying. The whole of the negociations had been preceded by official communications from Hongkong to the respective ministers, of copies of the English treaties, with all collateral information relating to them. Had the liberal and enlightened principles which actuated these three great powers in relation to China only inspired the Portuguese government in its conduct at Macao, we should not have seen the English driven from that settlement in 1840 by Commissioner Lin, and the British plenipotentiary told by the Portuguese that they could not interfere in his favour; but

the utter ruin of Macao, as a colony, has since then been the short work of about ten years.

A curious incident occurred some time after the negociations had been concluded, illustrative of the shifts to which the Chinese government is reduced for maintaining its supposed dignity in the eyes of its own subjects. The British consul at Shanghae forwarded to Hongkong a copy of the published comment of the emperor's council, in submitting to His Majesty the treaty concluded by Keying with the Americans. Of this, two *distinct editions* had been printed by authority at Shanghae; one for the Chinese, in which the word "barbarian" was retained; and the other for foreigners, wherein the offensive word had been supplied by another.

But in more substantial points it appeared, from time to time, that no small degree of vigilance was required to prevent, not so much the open and direct violation, as the covert evasion of several stipulations in the treaties so lately ratified. The examples were sufficiently numerous, but a few may suffice. The consuls at the several stations reported various infractions of the principle of perfect

freedom in commercial dealings and competition. This indirect interference was calculated, and evidently intended, to impede the natural growth of European trade at the new ports. One instance was the obstruction of teas in their passage from the place of production towards Shanghae, and the attempt thereby to divert them towards their old destination, Canton. Another, was a monopoly license granted by the local authorities of Ningpo, to certain persons to deal in iron, and the threatened prosecution of an individual Chinese who had made a purchase of iron from an English trader. A similar or worse monopoly of the trade in cassia was granted to a single dealer at Canton, who accordingly exacted from every purchaser of that article a fee amounting to fifty per cent. more than the duty required by the tariff. Then, again, it was found that a custom house had been set up in the *interior* for the collection of transit duties on our cotton manufactures, which, by the treaty, could not be levied at the ports of trade. These nuisances were finally abated, but at the price of much time and correspondence.

Besides the more formal and detailed treaties concluded by France and America, consequently on our own, some other powers opened negociations with China in 1844. The Danish and Swedish courts despatched, the former M. Hansen, the latter M. Liljevalch, as agents on the part of their respective crowns, for the establishment of commercial relations, and the appointment of consuls; but they do not appear to have signed any such extended conventions as those concluded by England, France, and America.

The Belgian consul-general at Canton employed the mediation of the French minister-plenipotentiary to obtain the assent of the Chinese government to the exercise of his functions, or, as it would be termed in Europe, his *exequatur;* and the reply from Keying conveyed the permission of the Peking court, which (as Keying observed) it became necessary expressly to obtain, because the establishment of a Belgian consul had not before been recognised by his government. The Prussian consulate had been discontinued since 1840, and existed until then only according to the old system, without any

official recognition; but in 1847, a Prussian consul was established at Canton on a more regular and acknowledged footing.

The only Christian power that trades with China on the north, and by land, is Russia; and Dr. Gutzlaff, by my desire, procured the following information respecting this intercourse. It is well known that the principal seat of the Russian trade is at Kiachta, adjoining the Mongolian frontier establishment Maimaichin. Second in importance to that emporium is the commerce maintained at Kokand, by caravans from Orenburg. The Chinese and Usbeck merchants from Shanse and Toorkistan assemble there to meet the Russian traders, and carry on a valuable traffic. From these regions small parties of native merchants start for Troizk in Siberia, where a similar, but not such an extensive, traffic takes place. A great deal of illicit bartering has existed to the east of Kiachta, between the nomades of the respective frontiers, and even indirectly on the part of European merchants. The commerce on the Amour, and in the distant parts of Siberia, has hitherto been very trifling, confined almost entirely to

those who hunt the fur animals for the Chinese market, and the convicts of China who are banished to the banks of the river to expiate their offences.

The court of Peking has, since the conclusion of our peace, very much relaxed its restrictive regulations as to the Russian commerce; and Russia has made it death to introduce opium into China, a piece of complaisance which came rather late and seemed ill-timed, as ever since our treaty there has not been the slightest hindrance to, or prohibition against, the opium trade along the whole coast. The prohibitory system which had hitherto been maintained on the frontiers of Toorkistan, and along the Great Wall, against wealthy Chinese speculators had led occasionally to revolts, in suppressing which the late emperor was obliged to disburse large sums, an operation to which he had a marked disinclination. There is, moreover, a desire to place the Russians under obligations, to secure the loyalty and submission of the Mongol tribes by opening the road to gain, and to remove every possible cause of collision. The statements as to an increase of trade may,

therefore, be considered as correct. These are farther corroborated by the very large quantities of a thick kind of Russian blue cloth, found in many of the Chinese cities towards the north, selling at such a reduced rate as can scarcely cover the prime cost. In former times, this article might be found in a single shop to the amount of 100 pieces. In 1846, thousands appeared in all the large trading cities to the north. As the Shanse merchants, the principal and leading parties in the Russian commerce, have very extensive connections throughout Tartary, and in all the provinces north of the Keang, the consumption of these woollens, in consequence of their low price, has increased nearly as much in proportion as that of our cotton goods. When we remember, however, that this commodity cannot be produced as cheap in Russia as in England, that it has to undergo a long and tedious land carriage, and, when sold on the frontiers, to traverse deserts before reaching the consumer, it is probably exchanged at a loss, as our woollens used to be by the East India Company. But the Emperor of Russia wishes to encourage the native manufacture,

and the loss, as in the other case also, is made up by the return trade. The commerce carried on at Kiachta is a mere barter transaction. In 1830, the whole importation of woollens at that place amounted to 154,552 yards; in 1839, to 1,297,230; and in 1840, it rose to 1,328,912. These were two years of a more or less suspended trade with England, but the quantity is still very large. Tea, the principal export, has increased in a similar manner. In 1838, there were brought 43,070 boxes, each of 100 lbs., besides 71,940 pieces of brick tea; in 1839, boxes 47,950, and 60,430 pieces. On this commodity the greatest profits are realized; and one account states, that what was bought in 1839 at Kiachta for 7,000,000 dollars, realized 18,000,000 at the fair of Nischegorod. All the nomadic tribes of Western Asia use the brick tea in profusion, and it often passes as a circulating medium. Hence the large gain of the Russians, who may be said to possess the monopoly; and at the same time the readiness with which they incur a loss upon their imports to pay for this article.

Not long ago, it appears that some merchants

proposed to trade by sea to the five Chinese ports opened to European commerce; but this was not allowed. No very regular accounts are kept of the imports and exports of the caravans, and still less of the illicit traffic on the Mongolian frontiers. The declared amount of imports to Northern Asia in 1840, was 3,615,130 in Russian dollars; and of exports, 6,892,952. About eleven-twelfths of this are absorbed either directly or indirectly in the Chinese trade. The native statements on this subject are very vague, and as the Chinese merchants find ways and means to smuggle a great deal, the custom-house returns cannot be relied on; they must, in fact, be below the truth.

Since our peace, the Russian government has endeavoured to place its commercial relations with China on a more liberal footing, and in some measure carried this point. The establishment at Peking was to assume a political character, instead of being, as hitherto, a mere institution for acquiring the language. For this purpose considerable efforts have been made, which may ultimately tend to realize the wishes of the Russians. It is even

said that a new envoy has reached Peking. Thus much may be considered certain, that Russia will leave nothing untried to establish its influence and political ascendancy there. Our commercial intercourse with China (not to mention the contiguity of the Thibetian and Indian frontiers) is greater than that of Russia, and, perhaps, of a sufficient magnitude to require from China the same concession of a resident at the court of Peking. The revision of the treaty in 1855-6 might afford a legitimate occasion for the proposition.

The extravagant anticipations of trade with China have not been realized, and, with a duty of 200 per cent. on tea, it would be strange if they had. With the exception of cotton piece goods, which they can dye and fashion as they please, the unchangeable habits of the Chinese (and those habits very different from European) prevent the consumption of what is foreign. For raw produce, for the cotton of India, and the various supplies of the Malay archipelago, China affords a good market; but not for manufactured articles. It does not appear that the Americans have increased their trade, any more than ourselves, to the

great extent anticipated; and as for the French, let them speak for themselves: —

"Si nous consultons les statistiques commerciales, nous sommes obligés de reconnaître que le traité n'a pas sensiblement amélioré la condition de nos échanges dans les mers orientales. Voici, en effet, le chiffre total du commerce et de la navigation de la France en Chine, *et en Cochin Chine*, de 1841 à 1849.

	Navires.	Tonneaux.	(Reduced from Francs.)
1841	3	891	£58,120
1842	1	128	70,320
1843	5	1671	51,160
1844	6	1784	46,680
1845	11	3463	91,760
1846	13	3994	73,160
1847	20	6575	93,680
1848	12	4229	78,280
1849	5	1609	123,120

Ces chiffres sont, on le voit, insignifians. Doit-on s'en prendre au traité? Assurément non. L'acte diplomatique a stipulé en notre faveur toutes les concessions qu'il était possible à obtenir."*

* Revue des Deux Mondes, 1851, 15 février, p. 746. The remaining observations are interesting, as argu-

The universal anticipation of an enormously augmented trade, as the consequence of opening the new ports, led naturally to the consular establishments being cast on a scale which experience did not justify. The parliamentary grant for this purpose in 1844 was 30,825*l.*, and in four years I was obliged, chiefly owing to the total failure of Foochow-foo, and the nearly total failure of Ningpo, to reduce the consular establishments to 23,392*l.*, their expense in 1847-8. The following table shows, at one view, the state of the British trade for the four first years after opening the new ports. The "Value" includes exports and imports in the aggregate:—

	Canton.		Amoy.		Foochow-foo.		Ningpo.		Shanghae.	
Year.	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.
		£		£		£		£		£
1844	112,142	7,335,140	10,650	192,952	„	„	4,042	111,034	8,584	487,528
1845	90,279	6,814,062	6,655	162,972	765	84,274	1,926	27,893	15,971	2,341,298
1846	90,888	5,545,137	9,378	176,372	„	„	998	11,137	14,741	2,162,730
1847	86,816	5,492,000	5,277	186,896	„	„	1,093	12,408	19,137	2,299,422

"The growth of trade (observed Dr. Gutzlaff) at the various ports has not answered

ments in favour of free trade, and added in the Appendix No. II.

the expectations of either English or Chinese. Various causes may be assigned for this slow progress. The whole is still new, and no country in the world presents such formidable obstacles to innovation as antiquated China, where the mind and body are both enslaved by old custom. The original trade at Canton remained for a long time very insignificant, notwithstanding the efforts and sacrifices of foreigners. The increase at first was imperceptible, but towards the end of the last century it took rapid strides *, and at the close of the Company's charter was almost too great for a single city. Such may one day be the fortune of some, at least, of the new ports, if no violent interruption takes place. Having so recently been opened, no large numbers of wealthy merchants (except at Shanghae) have as yet established themselves. A great amount of capital still flows in the old channel of the Canton trade, and years may pass before this can be materially diverted. Though a new race of merchants will be gradually springing up, the old tea and silk men attach themselves

* After Mr. Pitt's Commutation Act.

with Chinese pertinacity to a market where their fathers sold their goods before them. They had rather incur the risks of a tedious transit, and much expenditure, than enter a new and untrodden field. To all this must be added the already betrayed desire of the Chinese government to confine the foreign trade, as much as possible, to the extreme verge of the empire, Canton.* This does not appear in open acts, but in secret endeavours to render the transit of merchandise to the new ports difficult and expensive; so cunningly contrived as to render either discovery or complaint difficult. The innate corruption of the custom-house authorities at the different marts, the never-ceasing wish to establish monopolies under various names, and the narrow-mindedness of the mandarins in all commercial matters, are difficulties to which the consuls must be constantly opposed. A formidable impediment to the growth of our trade (after the high duty on tea) is the small choice of exports, confined as these are almost exclusively to cotton, raw or manufactured. The

* For attempts on the free transit of teas, see below.

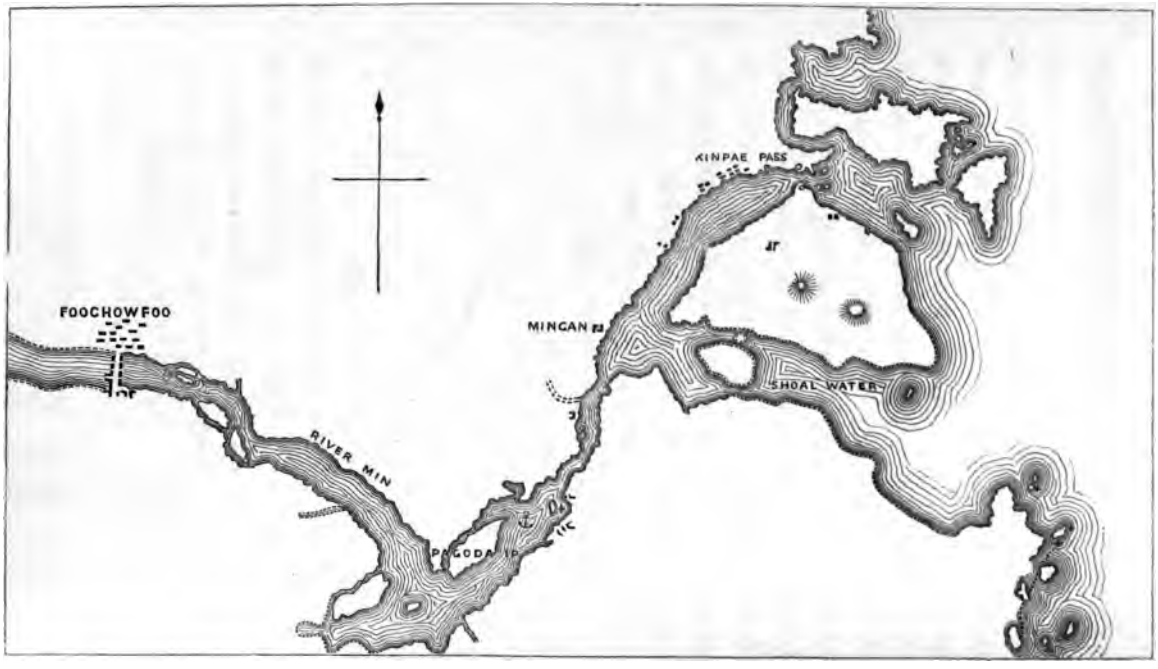
contraband trade in opium absorbs most of the floating capital, and with the growth of the consumption will monopolize the precious metals."

The trade, however, is at last fixed on something like a broad basis, and not to be checked or obstructed by trifles. Though slow in progress, when compared with the wild anticipations which, in 1845, hailed the commencement, it possesses the expansive faculty that will in due time overcome every weight and pressure. There are mutual wants and mutual interests that can successfully contend with every political restriction or local impediment. The Chinese merchants are at last emancipated from the withering control of mandarins and Hongists, and at liberty to give full scope to their gain-seeking propensity, the natural instinct of the Chinese mind.

The most untoward results of our first experience have been the failure of two out of the four new ports, and the detected attempts of the Chinese government to maintain the tea trade at Canton. As early as 1844, I was decidedly against keeping up "an expensive consular establishment at Foochow-foo," and

added, that "I should be prepared for a reduction of that at Ningpo." This failure was the more to be regretted, as the people at the latter place were so well disposed towards us that the liberty of penetrating into the interior had been almost unlimited.

Under these circumstances, it became at one time a question how far it might be possible to obtain from the Chinese government, by negociation, the substitution of either *one* or *two* other ports on the coast, in lieu of the ports of Foochow-foo and Ningpo, or of Foochow-foo only. I expressed myself, for various reasons, disinclined to the measure of entirely abandoning Ningpo, and limited the question of substitution (if at all) to the single port of Foochow-foo. There we could lose little, and might gain something in its place. We traded with four maritime provinces of China, and one good port in each seemed all that was practically required. Canton, with Hongkong close at hand, in its own province; Amoy (without Foochow-foo) in Fokien; and Shanghae in Keangnân, would answer for three out of the four. There only remained the want of a good port in Chĕkeang, directly on the



PORT OF FOOCHOWFOO.

sea-coast, and nearly equidistant between Shanghae and Amoy in their respective provinces. These conditions might possibly be answered by the city of Wunchow-foo, just under latitude 28°, in the province, and on the coast, of Chěkeang. The surveys of Captain Collinson would give some insight into its hydrographic capabilities, but it appeared from Du Halde that "le flux et le reflux de la mer monte jusqu'à ses murailles, ou l'on voit un grand nombre de barques et de sommes Chinoises, qui y trouvent un hâvre sûr et commode." The ready access of our shipping to the actual place of trade has been already observed to be a most important circumstance in China; and Canton would have been a very different place could our ships have gone up to the city, as at Shanghae and Amoy, instead of lying eight or more miles below it, as at that place and at Foochow-foo.

Supposing Wunchow-foo (or some other town) to prove a favourable port, and to be obtainable in exchange for Foochow-foo, we should have Canton, Amoy, that new port, and Shanghae, very nearly equidistant from each other, in the four provinces of Canton,

Fokien, Chěkeang, and Keangnân, sufficient for the present wants of our commerce; and as to Ningpo, it appeared desirable to keep it for the following among other reasons. It is only thirty-six miles from the harbour of Chusan, and should this important island, in the course of time and events, ever again become an object of national interest, an established *pied à terre* at Ningpo, close at hand, might prove of great consequence. In the meanwhile, a vice consul, or a mere consular agent without assistants, might suffice, if the trade did not improve at that port.* Admitting any change to be necessary, the proposed alteration of a single port might meet with less opposition from the Chinese government than the substitution of two such ports; and the

* This is now the case. A letter from Hongkong thus briefly states the present relative conditions of the five ports:— "Ningpo and Foochow are now under vice-consuls in charge, having no assistants, but interpreters. The Amoy consulate is as you left it, but the trade there with the Straits and Singapore is increasing. Canton, what with their troubles in the interior and the competition of Shanghae, seems on the wane, and I should not be sorry to hear some day of its abandonment as a place of trade."

very strongly expressed reluctance of the emperor regarding Foochow-foo especially, at the time of the treaty in 1842*, might possibly incline the Chinese government actually to prefer Wunchow-foo, or any other port which is on the sea, and not like Foochow-foo, at a considerable distance up a difficult stream. As the existing five ports have been confirmed by the French and American treaties, something of a simultaneous movement by consent on the part of these powers might be necessary, not only to remove objections, but to give weight and effect to negociation; and it might be politic not to let the Chinese suppose we had abandoned Foochow-foo before we sought another port.

But, under any circumstances, the year 1855 is the time at which our treaties should be revised by special agreement, and then, at the latest, would be the proper opportunity for fresh stipulations. Any unsettled questions between us and the Chinese government are confined to the single port of Canton, and

* Vol I. p. 295.

these, if not before arranged, would then naturally present themselves.

If the bad faith of the Chinese government should endeavour again to force teas to Canton, and prevent their access to the new ports by differential transit duties, this might be easily met. Our duty on teas shipped at Canton might be left at its present rate, and that on teas shipped at the other ports might be somewhat lowered. Our existing tea duty, amounting to an impost of at least 200 per cent. on the chief article of commerce with a country whose highest tax on our trade does not exceed 5 per cent., is not only an act of national injustice towards China, but a standing exception and contradiction to the principles and practice of free trade. But it is something worse still, being an actual check upon the growth of our own export trade in cotton, by limiting the returns.* The parliamentary evidence of

* "It must be borne in mind that the import trade (at Canton) is regulated by, and depends wholly on, the export trade, and that therefore only an increase of exports can cause a corresponding increase in imports. The China trade being essentially a direct barter trade, it is obvious,

1847 clearly established, besides, that its moral effect on the lower classes is pernicious, acting, as it does, like a dead weight on growing habits of temperance to the exclusion of strong liquors.

The whole apprehension of a lowered duty, in a financial point of view, consists of course in the expected loss of revenue at first starting, though ultimately to be made up, as usual, by increased consumption. But were there no objection in this particular instance, to leaving the duty on teas shipped at Canton at its present rate, whilst a lower duty were levied on those shipped at the new ports, the effect would be less sudden, and proportioned only to the growth of trade at those new ports. The tendency must be to draw the trade away from Canton to the new ports; but its long establishment at Canton, and the accumulated stores of tea there, would cause

that unless means can be found to take from the Chinese a larger amount of their principal export tea, there is but a limited prospect of deriving for the British manufacturing interest, all those advantages which the new position we hold in this country, consequently upon the late war, might lead them to expect."—Despatch from H. M.'s Consul at Canton, Parliamentary Papers, 1847.

the effect to be somewhat gradual, and the apprehended first loss to the revenue from the lowered duty might be avoided more safely in this manner than in any other that can be devised.

It need hardly be added that, besides drawing the trade to more favourable points, this would quietly and effectually dispose of pending questions at Canton, by diminishing our hitherto forced dependence on that troublesome place. While the tea duty, as to Canton, remained, for a time at least, in *statu quo*, the lowered duty at the new ports would be a positive boon to the Chinese government, supposing they took any cognizance of the matter at all, which is not likely, seeing that they have never once complained of our present enormous duties on their teas.

But it would also be an effectual blow to the indirect and covert interference with the internal transit of teas on the part of the Chinese government; to the obstruction of black teas, the bulk of our trade, in their passage from the place of production to the new ports, and the attempt to confine them to Canton. This aim of forcing the teas to the most distant point, and thus saddling them

with all the additional expense of the transit, is a violation of an express treaty stipulation; but being at the same time a matter of internal administration (in an interior to which we have no access), it could be surely and effectually frustrated only by the means in question.

In a word, this single measure would, with the least chance of financial difficulty, tend to relieve our trade from the incubus of a tax of 200 per cent. on the cost price of an article of universal consumption, while it promoted the comfort and morals of the poor; it would promote our exports in cotton goods by providing increased returns; it would dispose of our long pending difficulties and annoyances at Canton by diminishing our dependence on that obnoxious port; and it would frustrate the attempts of the Chinese government to force teas to Canton, instead of the new and contiguous ports of trade, by means which necessarily enhance their price. The evidence taken during the session of 1847 was so conclusive, and the Report of the Committee in favour of a lowered duty on tea so decided, that some alteration might have been expected before now.

CHAPTER IV.

KEYING. — HIS ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN RELATIONS. — RESTORATION OF CHUSAN.

KEYING was by far the most elevated in rank, as well as the most estimable in character, of any persons with whom the representatives of European states in China have ever come in contact. During a course of four years' intercourse and negociation, I had a fair opportunity of forming an estimate, and when he only *occasionally* betrayed that departure from conventional stipulations which is the *constant* failing of most Chinese ministers, these instances might be attributed rather to the difficulties of his position than to the bias of his natural temper. This difference between Tartars and Chinese was more than once displayed during the war; it has not escaped the penetration of M. Huc, in the late history of his intercourse with both nations; and Europeans would probably be no gainers in

the event of the Tartars being expelled from the empire.

It was a most unfortunate circumstance for Keying, that Canton should have been selected for his place of residence and negociation. It was the only one of the ports where so relentless a degree of hostility prevailed against foreigners, and where, consequently, he himself was most unpopular. To aggravate all this, the periodical payments of the indemnity at Canton acted like the repeated applications of a blister, keeping up the sore, but without any abatement of internal inflammation, by what the doctors call counter-irritation. Nor did this cease until the beginning of 1846. It is not too much to say, that the example and influence of that important city of the south had no small share in promoting the rebellion which has adopted a Chinese emperor, with the modest title of *Tien-tih*, "Celestial virtue."

The difficult position in which Keying found himself placed, between his obligations to us and his fear of the Chinese party, led him occasionally to attempt evasions, if not breaches, of the treaty; but as long as Chusan remained a British garrison there was a tole-

rable observance of good faith. One of the points on which the emperor's minister behaved with the least candour, and at the same time with the slenderest plea of necessity, was in regard to the residences of Her Majesty's consuls at Amoy and Foochow-foo. When, upon the payment of the instalment of the indemnity in 1844, the British garrison was withdrawn from Koolangsoo, Keying not only wished me to remove Her Majesty's consul from his residence on that island, but objected to his living within the city of Amoy, and suggested a spot lying on the outside of the town. In short, the object was to apply the rule of exclusion at Canton to the new ports of trade.

It therefore became necessary to state, that the British consul at Amoy, an officer on whose moderation and judgment there was the utmost reliance, must be left to decide on the suitableness of his own residence. The ill-conduct of the local government of Foochow, as to the dwelling of Mr. Consul Lay, has already been adverted to. That gentleman reported, in December, 1844, that he had selected the site of a consulate within the

town, and made his bargain with its owners, but that the local authorities advanced the most frivolous objections to his occupying it, wishing him to continue in the suburb, which, from my personal visit and observation, I knew to be so highly objectionable. This was followed by an official note from Keying, in which the minister departed so far from his usual candour and honesty, as to attribute the difficulties regarding the consul's residence within the city of Foochow, to objections on the part of the people (like Canton), at the same time making sundry references to the treaty which had little to do with the question.

The viceroy at Foochow had behaved very ill from the consul's first arrival. The aim and tendency of his proceedings had been to degrade that officer in the eyes of the inhabitants, and hence the necessity for supporting him. Like all Asiatics, the Chinese make their first attempts on the dignity of their opponents, and though some trouble is thereby entailed, with a considerable trial of patience, there is never much doubt of a successful result. Keying was immediately informed that

I had ordered Mr. Lay to quit Foochow-foo altogether, and retire to Hongkong, unless he was properly accommodated. As no trade whatever had arisen at the new port, there seemed the less necessity to submit to any thing of the kind at that place, a consul being somewhat superfluous where he had no duties to discharge.

A farther despatch from Mr. Lay conveyed additional proofs of the illiberal and underhand conduct of the local authorities in throwing every difficulty and discouragement in his way. It is well known that the emperor had evinced the greatest reluctance to sanction the choice of Foochow as a port of trade; but what could not be openly denied, seemed destined (if possible) to be rendered useless by covert and sinister proceedings. The support for which the consul applied, it became necessary, on every principle of sound policy, to afford him, by a firm opposition to this species of quiet persecution; and unless it were possible, through the medium of the minister, to produce an entire change in the conduct of the viceroy, it was far better that Mr. Lay should quit Foochow for a time.

But by the end of February, 1845, it was satisfactory to report to the Foreign Office that the long discussion of four months, with reference to the consulates at Foochow and Amoy, had terminated in every point at issue being conceded, and in a very amicable manner. Lew Tajin, the viceroy at the former place, had commenced with the broad assumption, that foreigners were to be excluded from *all* Chinese cities, because they were excluded from Canton. But such an exclusion, and especially of Her Majesty's consuls, from the places where the mandarins all reside, was a direct infringement of that rule of perfect equality secured by the treaty, which I was resolved vigilantly to maintain. Keying made a faint attempt to restrict the rule of equality by the literal terms adopted, *correspondence* alone being specifically mentioned; but he was told that the 11th Article established not a mere form, but a principle — that of perfect equality on every point.

The result, at least, proved how little real ground there was for the plea of an objection on the part of the Chinese inhabitants. But, independently of the hollowness of the pretext,

the attempt to extend its application from Canton to the other ports was highly inconvenient. If successful in this trial, the same excuse would in time have been pleaded against the exercise of every conventional right on the part of the British. Keying, however, conceded the whole with the best grace, when he found his position was untenable, and arrangements were made for providing suitable residences for the two consuls within the towns of Foochow and Amoy.

If it cost so much trouble to maintain the most obvious rights against a man so superior to the majority of his countrymen as Keying, it is impossible to say what might have been the result had the administration of foreign relations been entrusted to some less worthy hands than his. The consul at Canton soon reported, that the district officers proposed to confine British subjects to the narrow limits which had bounded their excursions previous to the war. In this manner they would have endeavoured, little by little, to restore the old state of things; and it seemed unfortunate, that in the place where our trade was *at present* the largest (though this probably would

alter), it was by far the most difficult to establish those rights, the assertion of which had cost so much.

The question of Chinese good faith has been sometimes discussed; and it may therefore at once be admitted, that their faith is inviolable, — so long as the securities are ample and sufficient. A thousand instances occur to any one acquainted with the history of their intercourse with foreigners to prove that, where no such securities existed, they have never scrupled, like other Asiatics, to set all faith at defiance. At the very period under notice, circumstances came to light illustrative of the disposition of the emperor's government. The subject of the Formosan massacre was noticed in the first chapter.* The author of that atrocious tragedy, an officer named Tahungah, commanding at Formosa, had been tried by the emperor's order, on the vehement protest of the British plenipotentiary, and found guilty of sending false despatches to Peking, in which it was alleged that he took our people prisoners after a long

* Page 5.

and obstinate resistance; on which fiction had been grounded the wholesale murder of 197 persons. The viceroy of Fokien and Chĕ-keang, who conducted the inquiry, had stated to the emperor the whole truth—that there had been no battle; that our people were ship-wrecked and defenceless persons, and that they had been all put to death in cold blood. When this had been proved, and after the emperor had solemnly engaged to punish Tahungah, it appeared on incontrovertible evidence, that this officer had been promoted to a very high post on the Elee station, second only to the Tartar general-in-chief.

Another instance, illustrative of the disposition of the Peking court, came to light about the same time. A civil officer, named Lin-chaouping, who had grievously persecuted a Chinese in the British service during the war, in spite of the amnesty, retired from office at Ningpo. On reaching Peking, he was admitted to a most favourable audience by the emperor, and the same was repeated three times. His button and peacock's plume were changed to those of a higher grade. This man was nothing more than a

British garrison, in March, 1845. The few English residents who desired, for a time at least, to remain, soon missed the protection of the force, and were immediately assailed by robbers and housebreakers. The Chinese authorities, probably with the wish to get rid of them, behaved with some duplicity, in first promising ample protection to the British residents, and then starting difficulties or suggesting doubts at the last hour. Keying seemed indifferent to our proceedings as to Koolangsoo (certainly a very insignificant spot) previous to the arrival of the period fixed by treaty for its cession. His wish was rather that we should retain it, so tenacious was he of the mere letter of our conventions, while I had often some trouble to impress on him their spirit.

The following extract from one of his notes is characteristic:—"The honourable Envoy entertains the same views with myself as to the exact maintenance of the treaty. I therefore consider that the British garrison at Koolangsoo should be withdrawn simultaneously with that at Chusan, whenever the three years' instalments have been finally paid up.

The good intention of the honourable Envoy was truly apparent in proposing that Koolangsoo should be restored on the payment of the instalment of the present year; but, as this is at variance with the stipulated number of years in the treaty, it might be better to wait until all the indemnity had been paid up, and then Koolangsoo might be evacuated together with Chusan. It would thus appear that our respective nations exactly observe the treaty of peace, without deviating a hair's-breadth." As it seemed hardly necessary to maintain this hair's-breadth precision at the cost of a regiment in a very unhealthy quarter, the date was anticipated, and Koolangsoo restored even before its time.

Keying, towards the end of November, 1845, visited Hongkong at my invitation, and passed four or five days there. He was much pleased with his voyage from Canton in one of Her Majesty's steamers, sent up expressly for him, and renewed the expression of his anxious desire to promote friendship between the two countries. In a cruise round the entire island, with Sir Thomas Cochrane and myself, on board the Pluto steamer, he

evinced some surprise at the progress made in so short a time in the way of roads and buildings, and occasionally surveyed these (to him) novel objects with a look of abstraction, as if meditating on the great change wrought by the war which he had so lately contributed mainly, with Eleepoo, to bring to a conclusion. On his return to Canton in the same way that he had come, Keying left on the minds of all who had conversed with him, a lasting impression of his dignified and amiable character, corresponding altogether with the high rank, the very highest indeed, which he held as the relative of his own sovereign.

This characteristic note was received from Keying after he had reached Canton.

"When I was at Hongkong a few days ago, and enjoyed the pleasure of your company, I rejoiced much, and received the highest gratification from our friendly and cordial meetings.

"I arrived at a quarter past nine, having accomplished the trip in entire safety. From henceforward, the empires will for ever cherish mutual friendship, and for myriads

of years observe the treaty of peace, while both foreigners and natives share in the results.

"By your kind favour, a steam-vessel was sent a considerable distance for my reception, and brought me back, likewise, with great speed. I should be very uneasy could I not present a trifle as a gift to the sailors; but the officer in command declined its reception, which occasioned me much regret. I therefore transmit the present with this letter, and request it may be directed to be received."

Being contrary to the usage of the navy to receive such rewards for public services, it fortunately occurred to the naval commander-in-chief, that Keying's generous gift, amounting to several hundred dollars, might be transmitted (with the donor's assent) to that excellent institution, the London Seaman's Hospital. Keying received an illuminated letter of thanks from the directors, which he thus acknowledged. "I am really perplexed at the high encomiums transmitted to such a distance by the directors of the London Seaman's Hospital for the very trifling present I made them, and hope you will convey

my acknowledgments for the compliment." Among its chief benefactors that institution has enrolled the name of the Manchow Tartar, Keying.

A most unfounded rumour prevailed about this time as to some supposed desire on the part of the French government to obtain possession of the island of Chusan. M. de Lagrené, the French minister plenipotentiary, took his departure from China on the 11th of January, 1845, in the steamer Archimède. He had previously paid a farewell visit to Hongkong, which he quitted with the esteem of all branches of Her Majesty's service, and with the warmest expressions of his own sense of the little attentions and assistance he had received during his visits to the five ports and to Victoria. He distinctly disavowed the views attributed to him by uninformed persons through the press. Indeed, his departure from the scene, not many months before Chusan was restored to China, was certainly no proof of a plan to obtain it by negociation; and the late exchange of the ratifications of a treaty of peace and commerce, which was not to be altered for twelve years from its date,

was still less a proof of a design to occupy the island by force. Only a few weeks after his excellency's departure, the extract of a despatch from Lord Cowley, the British ambassador at Paris, completely corroborated the declarations of M. de Lagrené; and the reasons therein stated, on the part of M. Guizot, why France should entertain no views as to an insular possession on the coast of China, were precisely those which any disinterested party, acquainted with the subject, might have anticipated.

It appeared, on more occasions than one, that if our treaty had been left altogether to the caprices of Chinese intrepretation it might have proved of little value. A singular instance occurred in 1846. An American steamer, the Midas, had continued for many months to run between Hongkong and Canton, and whenever she applied for a permit to ship cargo, no objection whatever was made. But when the English steamer Corsair had been duly reported by the consul, when she had actually paid the tonnage duty, and the permit had already been issued by the Chinese commissioner of customs, that officer

raised a sudden objection on the very strange ground that *steamers* were not specifically mentioned in the treaty as carriers of cargo.

The consul upon this addressed the local authorities, observing that no prohibition existed against steamers conveying goods, and that the Midas, American steamer, had done so on several occasions without objections being made. To this Keying caused a reply to be conveyed, concurring with the commissioner of customs, but giving the same, and no better, reason for it — namely, that steamers were not expressly mentioned in the treaty as carriers of goods.

On the receipt of the consul's complaint, deeming this an important question, involving the interests of British merchants and shipowners, and deeply affecting the trade between Hongkong and Canton, I addressed Keying, pointing out the total insufficiency of the plea under which the Corsair had been denied a cargo, and adducing the well-known practice established in the case of the Midas steamer. Keying, in reply, repeated his former argument, that steamers were not specified by name as carriers of cargo; and then, as if sensible of the weakness of his position, had re-

course to a sort of *argumentum ad misericordiam*—the danger arising from many steamers to the population on the river. It seemed only necessary, in reply to this, to point out the very weak and fallacious mode of interpretation adopted, and show what would be the consequences of my following Keying's example, and considering nothing as included in the provisions of the treaty that was not specifically named and defined therein. It was added, that the whole question must be referred to the secretary of state, and in the meanwhile I expected that steamers would exercise the same rights as all other vessels. There is no principle of international law more universal than that "a beneficial and favourable, and not an odious, interpretation, should be the rule between allies," and hence the necessity for overturning the dangerous plea set up on this occasion.

I had soon the satisfaction, however, of reporting to the Foreign Office that Keying had abandoned his position, and declared steamers entitled to carry merchandise, if required; and an indemnity was demanded and allowed to the owner of the Corsair for his losses from

delay. During this discussion, a collateral and equally important point was struck out, regarding the rights of Her Majesty's ships, which Keying incidentally asserted were prohibited from proceeding to any other than the five ports. It therefore became my duty to maintain the indisputable fact, that ships of war are at liberty to proceed to any port of China whatever, in the absence of a single prohibition in the treaty, wherein "merchant ships" are specifically named, and merchant ships only, as being confined to the five ports, and their *cargoes* rendered liable to confiscation, which, in the case of Her Majesty's ships, would be manifestly absurd.

Such being the negative ground of right, the positive presented itself in Article XXX. of the French treaty, which distinctly provides that every vessel of war shall be treated as a friend in every port of China where she may present herself:—"Tout bâtiment de guerre sera reçu en ami et traité comme tel dans tous les ports de Chine où il se présentera." * It was only necessary to ascertain and record

* Chinese Treaties, p. 118.

this privilege, which the navy are pretty well able to take care of themselves.

Some little prospect seemed at one time to exist of a growing trade at Foochow, but this was blighted by an untoward occurrence in the early part of 1846, originating rather among the Chinese themselves than foreigners. The natives of Canton enjoy an undisputed pre-eminence among their countrymen for every species of vice and rascality common to the whole nation. It has been often remarked, that the Canton and Fokien Chinese are almost different races, scarcely able to understand each other's spoken language, and that they seldom meet without renewing a sort of hereditary feud. It was unfortunate that considerable numbers of Canton men should, on the opening of the new ports, have accompanied British residents as servants and followers, especially to one of the nearest ports, Foochow. A most serious disturbance occurred there in April, involving some of the English newly-arrived, against whom, however, no hostility existed, save in so far as they identified themselves with a rabble of Canton men hanging about the suburbs, and with acts of

aggression originating in their Canton servants. A band of Chinese plunderers, who, as usual, were ready to take advantage of the disturbance, attacked the residence of two Englishmen in their absence, and effectually cleared it of all property. The consul behaved with the greatest prudence and firmness in the affair, and was on the best terms with the local authorities, who fortunately felt some alarm for themselves in the remissness which caused these troubles; undertaking to punish the ringleaders, and to make good the English losses.

The prospects of trade had been sufficiently unfavourable from the first occupation of the port, and this occurrence rendered them much worse. To the physical difficulties of the river, and other disadvantages, were now to be added this discouraging collision. The provincial authorities seemed willing to substitute evasion for that indemnity which they had promised to the English sufferers. Having waited patiently until the 2nd of June, I despatched the Pluto steamer with instructions to the consul, to make a demand for immediate payment of the amount of losses, which

he had ascertained after a careful scrutiny of the claims of the parties. In seventeen days the Pluto returned with a despatch from the consul, conveying the satisfactory intelligence that 46,163 dollars had been paid, and provision made for the condign punishment of the guilty.

The real and tangible injury sustained on this occasion was thus repaired; but it became necessary to deal more considerately with claims of a speculative character, set up by certain parties under the terms "inconvenience" and "injury to commercial prospects," which seemed to have been formed on the tradition of a celebrated case at Canton. An individual at that place (not a British subject), on being called upon to state his losses from a riot, made up an account of ten thousand and odd dollars for furniture and apparel, and then added a hundred per cent. (that is to say, doubled it), "being for articles not included in the estimate, and for suffering and inconvenience caused by the destruction of those enumerated." The mere bulk of such claims is often *primâ facie* evidence of their want of solidity; and in the commencement

of our peaceful dealings with the Chinese, it was most desirable to avoid anything that might invest us in their eyes with a grasping and extortionate character, founded on a consciousness of our own strength. Until we could fairly convince them that our power would never be used as an instrument of unjust gain, it seemed hardly possible to hope for that confidence which must be the foundation of a more intimate and beneficial intercourse.

I had always endeavoured to prove to Keying, that while it was my duty to protect the rights of British subjects, it was equally incumbent on my office to provide reparation for the wrongs they might inflict on the natives of the country; and it must be confessed, that he was in general far from remiss in the reciprocation of these principles. I had on one occasion supplied, from the public treasury, to a Chinese subject that indemnification which he could not obtain by the course of English law; and it was not long before the emperor's minister had an opportunity of doing an act of justice in return. An English resident at Victoria was robbed of a consider-

able amount, through the agency of his Chinese servants, and the booty carried off to a Chinese town on the main land. Some of the colonial police pursued and identified the parties, who proved to be persons of some little consequence in their neighbourhood. This enabled them for a time to resist or evade the operation of justice, until at length, on the farther representation of the individual robbed, I addressed a strong remonstrance to the Chinese minister.

In consequence of this, the whole property pertaining to the family of the guilty parties was speedily put under sequestration, by order of Keying. This strong measure proved the determination of the minister to do right by us. It was presently followed by a petition to myself from the Chinese family, who, after so long evading restitution of the spoil, now, with no ordinary degree of assurance, entreated my intercession in their behalf, and promised everything that was most equitable. Without taking any notice of the petition, Keying was informed of their impudent advances, and additional instructions to the local magistrates produced the indemnification of the person

robbed, with the exemplary punishment of the robbers.

In acknowledging Keying's behaviour on this occasion, it was added, that "such a reciprocal regard to the demands of justice and the obligations of treaties, was at once the best and the only sure way of promoting the beneficial intercourse of the two countries." As the original communications of the Chinese minister appeared well calculated to show the native inhabitants of Hongkong that they could not commit depredations with impunity, they were published for general information; and the consequence was, that in a second case of robbery, immediate restitution was made by the relatives resident on the Chinese territory, without waiting the consequences of another appeal.

By the commencement of 1846, the whole amount of the war indemnity, being 21,000,000 dollars, or between four and five millions sterling, was paid up in hard silver, the quality of which, according to an account furnished by the Commissary-general at Hongkong, proved equal to 4*s.* 6*d.* the dollar, weight for weight. The importance which

the Chinese government attached to Chusan, proved of course a main security for the punctual discharge of this debt. But important as that island certainly was to the integrity and credit of the empire to which it belonged, its value to ourselves was for a short time greatly over-rated, and the experience of a peaceable tenure of four years, tended much to sober down the exaggerated estimates which had been formed of it. So high, at one time, was the importance attached to the possession in perpetuity of Chusan, that I was empowered, at my own discretion, to negociate its cession for an equivalent.

But the advisability of entering at all on such a negociation depended, partly on the prospect and probability of obtaining the assent of the Chinese government; partly on the chances of its falling into other hands; and partly on the ascertained value of the island, after four years of actual possession, and experience of its qualities.

With regard to the first point, I was entirely persuaded, *in limine*, that no price or consideration whatever could induce the Chinese government to part with an im-

portant territory, which it justly considered as an integral part of the empire, and a district of the adjoining province of Chĕkeang. All my correspondence with Keying tended to prove this, of which I never for a moment doubted from the first; nor did it apply less to other nations than to Great Britain. The aversion and jealousy of the Chinese towards foreign approach, makes little discrimination between the various Christian nations; they are all considered as of one family, which, in comparison with China, they no doubt are to a considerable extent. She might use them as tools, but would never admit them as friends.

The second point—the possibility of Chusan falling into other hands, must, under the circumstance of this insuperable horror of foreign intrusion, be reduced to the simple calculation of the chances of a *forcible* occupation. But the recent conclusion and ratification of separate treaties of friendship and commerce (since our own) by both France and America; and the express stipulation that the conditions of those treaties were to remain unaltered for twelve years from their respective dates or ratifications; afforded the smallest possible

prospect of any scheme of aggression on the part of either of those powers.

The rapid progress and prosperity of Hongkong since its occupation, became an important ingredient in the consideration of the third and last question — the comparative value and importance of Chusan ? The latter place, during our peaceful possession of four years, had, as a trading port, fallen off in estimation and importance* to a remarkable degree. The test had been applied, and it was found wanting. While our traders flocked to Shanghae, even to the diminution of the old-established Canton trade, both Chusan and Ningpo, in the immediate neighbourhood, were comparatively deserted. With every advantage of a perfectly free port, and the absence of all fiscal charges whatever, even for anchorage, not the slightest progress was observed in trade at Chusan, during an undisturbed occupation of four years, any more than at Ningpo, which is only thirty-six miles from it. Hongkong, on the other hand, had made very rapid progress†; and even its re-

* Page 21.

† This progress continues. There is much intercourse

ported unhealthiness was confined almost exclusively to the military, the very prisoners in gaol having shown no remarkable mortality. Even the troops signally improved until 1848, when the mortality re-commenced with a new corps. Under the improved prospects of the new colony, the great increase of buildings, and the large sums already invested there, the addition of another undertaking at Chusan, in the face of its ascertained insignificance as a place of trade, seemed hardly desirable. To all this it was to be added, that any overtures for the permanent possession of that island, besides the absolute certainty of their being rejected, would have agreed very ill with my endeavours to assure the Chinese government

with California, which the Chinese call *Kinshan*, the golden mountains. "A trade which promises some extension has sprung up between Hongkong and the west coast of North and South America, to which many of the products of China are now conveyed. During the first half of 1850, thirty ships, measuring 10,776 tons, left Hongkong with cargoes of these products, consisting of silk, lacquered wares, tea, sugar, and numerous other articles, together with considerable quantities of building materials, fashioned by the industry of our subjects on that island, such as wrought granite, wooden-frame houses and planed lumber (for California)." — *Edin. Rev.* No. 91.

that we had no design whatever to retain possession of it, apart from the fulfilment of their treaty engagements.

The prevalence of the northerly monsoon prevented for some months the despatch of vessels to remove the troops from Chusan, and this seemed a favourable opportunity to press the long delayed treaty obligation to open the city of Canton to foreigners, according to the provision of Article II., granting freedom of residence "without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghae." The plea of "disinclination on the part of the people" had proved so utterly false at both Foochow and Amoy, and had there been so completely overturned, that it seemed worth while to try, at least, the amount of its validity at Canton. But the local government, after issuing a proclamation acknowledging the right of foreigners to enter the city, found itself utterly unable to enforce the same against the factious rabble which it had by degrees taught to oppose, not only foreigners, but itself; and the present unsuppressed rebellion is one result of such stupid policy. The

autograph of the emperor, however, was obtained to a formal admission of the British right, whenever the Canton government should be in a condition to make it observed; and there now remained no farther obstacle to the free restoration of Chusan.

The bad faith and ill-conduct of the Chinese government after the war, in regard to the amnesty which had been provided for such natives as had adhered to us, rendered it necessary to look out for the safety of the people of Chusan upon its evacuation by ourselves. A very general impression had prevailed among them that the island was to be permanently retained by us. They could not understand how, having the power to secure so valuable a possession, we had not also the intention to keep it. Hence it had become necessary to undeceive them by a timely notice, as it appeared that numbers had built and speculated on the assumption of our continued occupation. Keying, at my express desire, sent me the draft of a proclamation which he had prepared, assuring to the inhabitants of the island perfect amnesty and

protection on the retirement of the British force.

On reaching Chusan in the Vulture steam-frigate on the 7th of July, I found four Chinese commissioners had been despatched from Ningpo to receive charge of the island. They had come over in the Nemesis steamer, accompanied by the British consul at Ningpo, and expressed in warm terms their sense of the mild and equitable rule which had been exercised over the inhabitants of Chusan during its four years' occupation. There can be no doubt of this having left a permanent and most favourable impression of the English character on the minds of the government and people.

So large a number of British subjects had not remained for such a length of time on the island, without leaving many memorials in the cemetery which adjoined the foot of Joss-house hill. To insure these tombs from desecration was a natural tribute to the dead, and at the same time met a ready response on the part of the Chinese commissioners, with whose countrymen this constitutes almost the only species of religious feeling that they

possess. They took the cemetery at once under their special charge, and readily insured its inviolability, causing the district officer to mark its boundaries by erecting stones at the several angles and sides, inscribed in Chinese characters with a prohibition against encroachment or disturbance.

The important subject of protection to those Chinese who had served us at Chusan was another care. A petition was received from a number of these persons setting forth their claims, and asking for protective passes in quitting the island for the main land. It was considered the most prudent course to furnish each of these poor people with a paper in English and Chinese, claiming protection for them, not only under the treaty, but the special proclamation already referred to on the part of the Chinese minister, Keying. Dr. Gutzlaff was at the same time directed to advise each of them, in the event of any molestation, to repair to the British consul at either Shanghae or Ningpo, and report the same, in order that those officers might interfere in their favour.

But in addition to this it seemed necessary

to address a written communication to the commissioners charged with the reception of the island at my hands, reminding them of their obligations under the treaty, as well as Keying's late proclamation, and stating my expectation that in return for the good faith of the British government in restoring Chusan, and the equitable rule which had marked its occupation, they would consult the mutual friendship and good understanding of the two countries in abstaining from the persecution of all such natives of China as had rendered services to the British. A reply was received from the commissioners, pledging themselves that all the parties in question should enjoy every degree of immunity — a pledge which seems to have been faithfully kept.

There was little or no sacrifice incurred by us, in the way of trade, on the relinquishment of the island. It has been before observed that although Chusan had been a perfectly free port during our occupation of several years, the poverty of the natives, joined to other causes, had prevented the existence of almost any external trade beyond that of an

opium station, which from its nature might exist without occupation. Little, therefore, was given up with the island, and even the benefit which had been once anticipated for Ningpo by the transference of trade was not realized, for there was scarcely any trade to transfer. The importance of the position is grounded almost exclusively on political and military considerations.

Finally, the hospital, barracks, and other public buildings were all delivered over in their existing state to the Chinese commissioners on the 21st of July, according to the provisions of the supplementary treaty; and the remaining troops commenced their embarkation in three large transports on their way to India. The grounding of one of the ships (for Chusan has neither such a harbour, nor so clear an approach, as Hongkong), combined with other circumstances to delay their departure until the 25th, when they all sailed away under a friendly salute from the Chinese authorities on shore. There was no Eleepoo to report the precipitate retreat of the garrison, nor any Yukien to murder those who might be left behind.*

* Vol. I. p. 70.

Some observations on Chusan, written by Dr. Gutzlaff, who was civil magistrate subsequent to the war, may close this chapter. "The people of the island were terror-stricken on its first capture, and abandoned the town of Tinghae. Hopes of gain induced them subsequently to come back. But on the second capture neither threats nor kidnappers drove them to abandon their shops and houses, nor did the islanders leave their homes to trust in the kindness of their mandarins. Since the conclusion of the peace they enjoyed an uninterrupted prosperity, traded with the shipping, and became rich by furnishing supplies to the garrison. The friendly feelings towards our rule are therefore general, and the richer inhabitants earnestly desire the continuance of the British on the island. Whatever havoc the war made is now not only forgotten, but the houses have increased in number, and the inhabitants have multiplied, many strangers from the coast being settled at Tinghae. The natives cannot persuade themselves that they are to revert to their old masters, and so lively are their hopes that they are still building in the

expectation of seeing more English on their shores. These are facts surprising to every one who knows the cunning and caution of the Chinese character.

"As for the cultivators they have paid no taxes, the artizans have found full employ, the trades a circulation of silver where only the copper coin of the country was known before our arrival, and the poor man has gained an easy livelihood; so that they cannot but rejoice in our administration. The only exception to this are the *Literati*, who are entirely dependent for their advancement upon the Chinese government. Otherwise, the remembrance of our occupation — of our justice and liberality — and of our resources for rendering a place flourishing, can never be obliterated from the minds of the Chinese; and we have in that quarter a name which will survive the vituperation heaped upon us in Chinese state papers.

"The people who have gained by our tenure of the island will be liable to severe handling by the mandarins, always ready, under any pretence, to appropriate some of the money they have earned. There will be evil

minded persons ready to stand up as accusers and bring them before the tribunals of their government, which, notwithstanding the amnesty agreed upon at Nanking, made a subsequent clause against 'native traitors.' It will therefore be an object of the first consideration, on the restoration of the island, to make such stipulations and take such measures as that none of the industrious and innocent Chusan people shall suffer for alleged political crimes. Such arrangements are within our reach, and will greatly tend to raise our character among the natives."

We have seen that this was effectually done, and were any unforeseen events in the history of the future to take us a third time to Chusan, we might expect a very friendly reception from its inhabitants.

CHAPTER V.

RENEWED DISTURBANCES AT CANTON. — EXPEDITION OF 1847.

It has been before observed that Chinese good faith is inviolable, so long as the securities are sufficient. Such a security was Chusan; and this constituted its real worth to us during the four years in which it remained a British garrison; for, as a set-off to the expense of maintaining an English and a Sepoy regiment (about 70,000*l.* a year), it returned absolutely nothing in the way of trade; or, indeed, any other advantage whatever, except that of a commanding military and naval position (which it must ever be), and a pledge for the fulfilment of Chinese promises.

It was naturally surmised that the restoration of Chusan would soon be felt in relaxed vigilance of observance as regarded treaty stipulations; but at the new ports of trade there had been scarcely any trouble from the beginning.

The people were generally well disposed towards us, and, where local circumstances favoured trade, the progress was satisfactory, especially at Shanghae, which seemed destined to supersede Canton in due course of time. By way of accelerating this event, the vicious and incurable rabble of the latter place, who burned down the British factories only three months after the conclusion of the treaty of peace, seemed determined from time to time to renew the old feud, lest its embers might gradually become extinct. The evacuation of Chusan had just been completed, in July, 1846, and I had parted on the most friendly and cordial terms with the high officers appointed to receive it, when a despatch from Hongkong announced that another riot at Canton, the third or fourth since the peace, originating in a street brawl, had well nigh caused the sack and pillage of the whole foreign quarter. It appeared that the rabble, excited at first by the maltreatment of one of their number, and soon reinforced by shoals of vagabonds always ready for mischief, had made a desperate onset upon the dwellings of the English and Americans, who soon per-

ceiving the extent of the peril, combined to repel them with firearms, and at length succeeded in dispersing the assailants, after shooting three of their number. The Chinese government, in the meanwhile, like "an ancient and most quiet watchman," did nothing for three hours from the commencement of the broil, and would perhaps not have interfered at all, unless in some fear at last for itself.

The English residents, with good show of reason, considered their safety compromised by this event. The following instruction was written to the consul, who considered the danger less imminent. "It appears to myself that the British merchants at Canton have no inconsiderable grounds of alarm for the safety of themselves and property under existing circumstances. I do not deny that you were right in not desiring the presence of a vessel of war near the factories at the exact period in question; but contingencies may soon occur, in which such protection may be indispensable for the security of our peoples' lives. There is nothing whatever in Article X. of the supplementary treaty to prevent a

man-of-war lying opposite to Canton, in common with Shanghea, Ningpo, and Amoy; and though I am far from thinking that one should be permanently retained there, it would be a most superfluous and uncalled-for concession on my part to the crafty government of China to make a voluntary surrender of so indisputable and indispensable a right. By Article XXX. of the French treaty, a man-of-war is entitled to go wherever she can float; and the restrictions in our own treaty are obviously applicable only to merchantmen."*

In addition to their tardy interference to suppress the riot, having sent assistance only when the mob had been already repelled, the local government, that is, Keying himself, endeavoured to simplify the question by confining it entirely to the English, though it was only common to them with the Americans. He likewise required that the *lex talionis* should be visited on those who had killed the three Chinese. It therefore became necessary to address him thus:—"Your excellency must

* Parliamentary Papers, 1847, p. 23.

be well aware that from the commencement, a most unjust and unusual attempt has been made to fasten the odium of the late disasters exclusively on the subjects of my government. My very first despatch protested against this; and I shall continue to protest against it so long as it is persisted in. My countrymen, not without reason, are highly incensed at such a flagrant injustice — at such an unfair and odious distinction — and I cannot expect them to submit to it. Had an impartial and fair line of conduct been adopted at first, the affair might long ago have been arranged. It is a rule with all nations, founded on the plainest principles of natural justice, that any person who chances to kill an aggressor in the necessary, and therefore lawful, defence of his life and property, cannot be punished. According to this universal rule, the American who happened to shoot a Chinese aggressor in 1844, could not be punished by his countrymen. But if an Englishman maliciously, and without the justification of necessary self-defence, were to kill a Chinese, I should not wait until your excellency called for it, but

would instantly take measures for subjecting him to the last penalties of the law."*

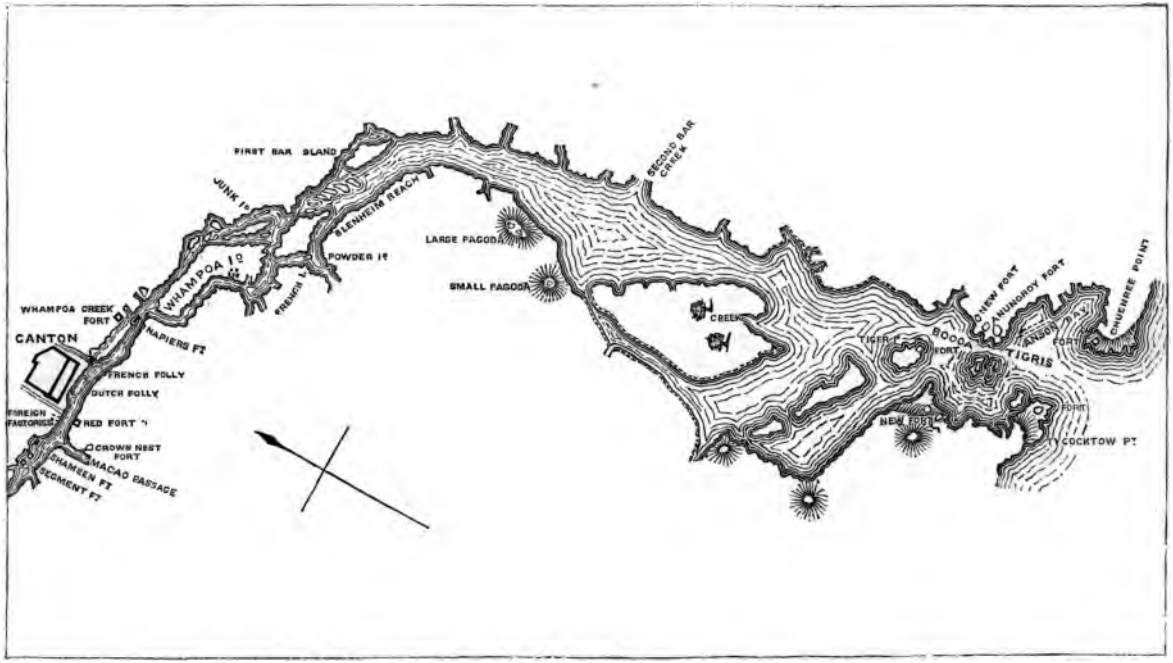
However desirous to supply the protection of ships of war at the five ports when they were wanted, it was sometimes a difficult matter to accomplish. The limited numbers of the Eastern squadron; the demand for ships to carry home, or to India, the successive instalments of the indemnity; the recal of some before their places had been supplied by others; and the active operations at Borneo and New Zealand, were all of them causes which reduced the force on the China station generally below a convenient rate. On arriving at Hongkong in 1844, I found that my predecessor, Sir Henry Pottinger, interpreted the terms of the supplementary treaty in the same manner with myself, and that in each of the five ports an English sloop or steamer should be "stationed to enforce good order and discipline among the crews of merchant shipping, and to support the necessary authority of the consul over British shipping." The idea had not occurred, in framing the

* Printed Papers, 1847, p. 55.

treaty, that the Chinese government would be so powerless over its own subjects as to render foreign assistance necessary; and if it had occurred, would have been immediately repudiated by Keying.

The port of Canton for shipping is at Whampoa, eight or nine miles distant from the town. Every British merchantman (sometimes to the number of forty at once) is anchored there, and even the small passage steamer, plying regularly from Hongkong, anchored two miles below the town on account of the dangers of the river higher up. The iron steamers sent up to the town in case of need did not draw above six feet water; and though during the engagements of 1841 our corvettes and sloops contrived to get opposite to the town, it was under those exigencies which war imposes, and with the utmost difficulty and risk.* Some of my first

* The disadvantages of Canton and Foochow-foo in this respect have been already noticed. At Shanghae, Ningpo, and Amoy, the shipping lie off the respective towns, but at Canton and Foochow-foo they must be from necessity about eight miles distant. A vessel among the shipping, and another off the town, is a case that imposes the necessity of *two* ships of war.



RIVER AND PORT OF CANTON.

despatches from China in 1844 urged the necessity of reinforcing the squadron to such an extent as might facilitate the observance of the mere provisions of the treaty, and the several letters printed in the Parliamentary returns* proved my readiness to supply a vessel of war to Canton when required; the Nemesis being actually sent contrary to the desire of the consul. But in truth our colonial and diplomatic demands on the navy are sometimes beyond the limits of possibility.

The local government had only itself to blame for whatever disorders occurred, having altogether neglected the enforcement of some excellent regulations which it had pledged itself with the American minister to carry out in 1844. These regulations had been agreed upon as the consequence of the riot in the early part of that year, when a Chinese was shot by an American†, and, if observed, would have been quite sufficient to prevent farther troubles. They chiefly referred to the regulation and control of two Chinese streets or thoroughfares, one at the east, and the other near the

* Printed Papers, 1847.

† See before, p. 41.

west end of the foreign quarter, whose intercommunication rendered this quarter itself a thoroughfare, and crowded it constantly with an idle and mischievous Chinese rabble. It was one of the good results of the armed visit to Canton in 1847, to do what mere negociation could never have effected, and to block up effectually and permanently the eastern thoroughfare (called Hog Lane) with a strong wall, thus rendering the neighbourhood of the British consulate and buildings a *cul de sac.* From that time to this no riot like the previous ones has ever occurred in the foreign quarter, which is now comparatively private and secure.

The following, among multitudes of others, may be taken as one specimen of the *animus* displayed by the Canton agitators against foreigners: —"Where a case occurs involving the loss of human life, and the officers appointed to conduct the local government evince the slightest partiality in holding the inquest, or the depositions of the relatives of the deceased do not agree with the official report, then these officers are immediately denounced to the emperor and punished.

But a still greater sternness is manifested where the lives of the Chinese people come into comparison with those of (natives of) foreign countries and outlandish states; for, if outlandish devils kill one Chinese, the lives of two outlandish people must be forfeited in return. In the fifth month of the present year, quite unexpectedly, upwards of twenty Chinese* were killed by the outlandish devils, and their bodies thrown into the river to be buried in the bellies of fish. Yet the high authorities treat the matter as if they had not heard of it, regarding the outlandish devils as gods before whom nothing is obscure; but ranking the Chinese people with beasts, and treating human lives as contemptuously as hairs in a cap — things to be blown away. They have not memorialized the emperor on the subject, neither have they taken the necessary measures with reference to it here. The whole body of the people lament and repine in consequence, and their agony penetrates to the marrow of their bones.

"All the public assemblies are ardent in

* Only three.

their intentions, entertaining a common hatred of the outlandish devils, and as there is no other course open to them, they will be obliged to fix upon a certain day on which to come forward and act for themselves. To sum up all, the security merchant, Mingqua (near whom the riot occurred), must be called on to point out the principals and accessories among the outlandish devils engaged in the fight, in order that they may be consumed with fire; or measures adopted to seize them and prevent a single life of our Chinese people being left unatoned for — which would cause these outlandish devils to become mad and unruly, and greatly detract from the dignity of our celestial empire. If Mingqua should dare to entertain thoughts of gain, and protect the outlandish devils by refusing to point them directly out, we will not stop until we eat his flesh and sleep on his skin, thus greatly gladdening the minds of the whole people." The miserable policy of the government since the war had produced this license in the populace, and it is now paying for the same in a serious rebellion against itself.

The contagion seemed to spread from Can-

ton to Macao, where a new Portuguese governor, Senhor Amaral, an officer of a very energetic character, was effecting reforms intended to place that settlement on the same level with Hongkong, as regarded independence of the Chinese government. But neither the resources of the settlement itself, nor of the mother country, could suffice to arrest the downward progress of the place since the establishment of its English rival. Among other modes adopted for replenishing the Macao treasury was a tax upon Chinese boats. The owners of these, considering themselves still (as they had always before been) independent of the Portuguese government, and amenable only to their own officers (and perhaps encouraged or incited by the scenes lately enacted at Canton), got up a formidable opposition, and landing with a gun in the inner harbour assumed a threatening attitude. The governor, perceiving a violent emergency, despatched a letter to myself, requesting any assistance I might be able to afford him. I was willing to forget the conduct of his predecessor in 1839 to our countrymen, when these were driven by the Chinese from Macao, and in

vain asked for protection. Senhor Amaral was a different character, and all the aid it was possible to afford was promptly given. Very clear and rigid instructions from home prevented any armed interference between the Portuguese and Chinese; but it was consistent at least with the most perfect neutrality, to provide an asylum and refuge in case of exigency to the Portuguese inhabitants, and H. M.'s steam frigate Vulture was anchored by her zealous commander within a few hours close to the town of Macao. The governor, who knew the nature of my standing instructions, acknowledged this support in the most grateful terms, and said that the mere sight of a British man-of-war proved quite enough to prevent all farther opposition on the part of the Chinese, who of course could not know that she was precluded from taking any active part against them. The affair might be considered as having terminated very luckily to the Portuguese; for however unquestionable our own right to levy taxes, or exercise capital jurisdiction at Hongkong, a territory held by right of conquest, it is altogether a different

thing at Macao, which is confessed to be held by the payment of an annual rent to the emperor, and where a mandarin has always from the first resided for the independent government of Chinese subjects. It was the subsequent fate of Governor Amaral to be barbarously assassinated by some cowardly Chinese ruffians, who attacked him while riding on the outside of the town, having only one arm, and no weapon to defend himself.

In 1846, the populace of Canton, in consequence of the state of things described at the end of Chapter I., had reached the culminating point of organized misrule, and this gave activity to their intolerant hatred of foreigners. Violence and insult were offered to British subjects, as well as to those of other European or Christian states, and the only legitimate way to a remedy, in the first instance, was of course through the Chinese government. In the month of October, two British seamen were brought to the Consulate in a complete state of exhaustion, and covered with blood. They had been enticed into the back streets, and there assailed by the mob,

being beaten, pelted, and cut with some sharp instrument, — perhaps in revenge for the three Chinese shot in the preceding July. The consul at Canton complained to Keying, and applied for the discovery and punishment of the assailants. But the restoration of Chusan had produced some relaxation in that attention to representations which had marked transactions previous to that event. It might be too much to say, that the local government viewed the maltreatment of foreigners with a secret complacency; but, at least, it did not any longer display the same alacrity to punish outrages according to the dictates of justice and the special provisions of the treaties.

Other grievances arose which required a strong appeal to the local government. Some arrangements which H. M.'s consul contemplated, essential to the general accommodation as well as safety of the British community, were met by Keying with a degree of *brusquerie*, not to say insolence, never before exhibited by him. The consul was told, not only that the propositions in question "ought to be instantly put a stop to, in order to comply with the feelings of the people," but that

he must "carefully refrain from again giving rise to discussions out of the ordinary course." The ill conduct of the rabble was bad enough; but it might have been the subject of more amicable discussion had a better disposition been displayed by the rulers; and it now became my duty to assure his excellency, that I "could not allow H. M.'s consul to receive such answers."

In the beginning of March, 1847, less than a month after these unpromising symptoms, a most barbarous and unprovoked attack was made on an officer of rank, commanding the Royal Artillery at Hongkong, and five other gentlemen, during an excursion up the Canton river; and they would certainly have been murdered by the populace but for the good conduct and exertions of a Chinese officer with whom they fell in. About the same time, a despatch arrived, instructing me to demand the punishment of the parties who had ill-used the two seamen straying into the city.* "You will, moreover, inform the

* Printed Papers, 1847, p. 3.

Chinese authorities, in plain and distinct terms, that the British government will not tolerate that a Chinese mob shall, with impunity, maltreat British subjects in China whenever they get them into their power; and that if the Chinese authorities will not by the exercise of their own power, punish and prevent such outrages, the British government will be obliged to take the matter into their own hands, and it will not be their fault if, in such case, the innocent are involved in the punishment which may be sought to be inflicted on the guilty."

It thus became necessary to assume a peremptory tone with the Chinese minister, much less agreeable than the cordial style of correspondence which had now subsisted between us for about three years; and which might not have been changed had Chusan, that bond of faith and amity, still remained in my possession. But much to my regret, his excellency, so far from affording any rational hope of redress in his replies, took no notice whatever of this communication from the Secretary of State; and, as to the rest, made

use of the same unmeaning excuses for delay as on previous occasions.

The objects sought were nothing new, but mere observances of existing treaty engagements, and as the despatch from Downing Street was of the strongest description, there appeared every prospect of a just blame being attached to any want of decision in this emergency. The conclusion then was, that there remained no other course than to proceed to Canton with a commanding force, and demand reparation on the spot — that is, reparation for the two unatoned outrages on British subjects; the one of some six months' date, the other more recent, but not more in a way to be remedied.

By the admirable conduct and co-operation of the naval and military force, this was done with all the success reckoned on. The resisting batteries were taken, fortunately, with little injury to the defenders; but it was necessary, as a mere military precaution, to disable effectually, by spiking or knocking off the trunnions, or both, every gun in the river defences, to the number of "827 pieces of heavy cannon," which was about 100 for each

British subject who had been maltreated without redress.*

Canton being reached in thirty-six hours from quitting Victoria, the Chinese minister was received with all due honours, when he repaired to a meeting at the British Consulate. The immediate reparation, which was the *only* motive of this visit, was soon agreed upon, in about as many minutes as it had been delayed months. Some incidental matters, which arose after reaching Canton, were also discussed and conceded,—as fixing a time for opening the gates of the city, hitherto postponed *sine die*, notwithstanding the treaty of Nanking, which provided that British subjects should "reside, without molestation or restraint, at the *cities* and *towns* of Canton, Shanghae, Ningpo, Foochow-foo, and Amoy." The point had been carried, not without opposition however †, every where but here. It has been stated that the application of H. M.'s

* There is an excellent account of the expedition by some unknown hand in the Annual Register for 1847; and appended to this volume is a masterly explanation and vindication of it from the Foreign Office (Appendix, No. 1.).

† Page 117.

consul for some measures to secure the British quarters against the violence of the populace, had been treated with contumely. His object was now urged and obtained, far beyond the original intention. The ancient and well-known thoroughfare, called by our people Hog Lane *, was hermetically sealed by a strong wall at the English end, and the site devoted to a Protestant Chapel. The lasting good results of this summary proceeding, for the peace of the foreign residents, have been since acknowledged.

Some strong preventive measure was, in fact, so evidently required, that the United States Consul wrote me these very sensible observations: — "I beg you will allow me to

* Thus described in 1836. "The hovels with which it is lined are occupied by abandoned Chinese, who supply the poor ignorant sailors with spirits, medicated to their taste with stimulating or stupifying drugs; and when the wretched men have been reduced to a bestial state by these poisonous liquors, they are frequently set upon by their wily seducers, and robbed as well as beaten, until those sent in search of the sailors arrive and carry them to their boat in this disgraceful condition. It was here that the affrays which many years since so frequently led to homicides, and discussions with the government, in general originated." — *The Chinese*, vol. ii.

offer a few suggestions, growing out of my own experience during the last few years at Canton, and which have reference more particularly to the idlers who congregate about the factories, and have been, I may say, in all cases, the cause of the various disturbances and conflicts which have taken place from time to time. To remedy these evils effectually, it appears to me the arrangements should be permanent, and that the mandarins should be required to have always 100 or 200 soldiers at the Consoo-house; part of which force could be employed in placing three or four soldiers near the gates at the foot of China Street, and no Chinese allowed to enter, who could not produce a pass from his employer. These are matters of detail, and apparently of minor importance; but unless the Chinese force above alluded to is kept permanently near at hand, I should fear a repetition of the evils you have so fortunately removed."

Keying, for his own sake, readily agreed to place a body of Chinese troops at the Consoo-house when the British were withdrawn, and kept his word: but the close of the old channel of strife above mentioned, through which the

British quarter was fired in 1843, has proved the most effective remedy of all.

It was necessary that the chastisement of Colonel Chesney's Foshan assailants should be witnessed before returning to Hongkong. On the 7th of April their instant punishment was demanded; but the officer who brought Keying's note had been instructed to demur to their being punished *in our view*. This was so little to the purpose, that the following note was returned to the Chinese minister, and the Pluto steam-sloop directed to be prepared for Foshan early the next morning: — "I write to inform your excellency that I was going to Hongkong to-morrow; but, since you behave with evasion and bad faith, in not punishing the offenders in the presence of deputed officers, I shall keep the troops at Canton, and proceed to-morrow in the steamer to Foshan, where, if I meet with insult, I will burn the town." This had the proper effect: towards midnight, a satisfactory reply was received, and, at five o'clock the next morning, three offenders were brought to the guard-house, a mandarin of high rank, with other officials, being present on the part of

the Chinese, and a number of deputed officers on the part of the British. "The men were bambooed in succession by the Chinese officers of justice, and, on leaving the consoo-house, the mandarin, on being required to do so, explained to the people who crowded about the barriers, why the men had been punished; and it was added that, for a similar offence, they might themselves expect a like chastisement." *

On the 8th of the month, just one week having elapsed, the force embarked on its return to Hongkong, leaving the light company of the 18th Royal Irish for a short time longer at the consulate. The military and naval forces, on account of the excellent conduct and discipline displayed in their irresistible passage up the river, received their meed of praise from the War and Admiralty departments in England. The former were extolled for their exertions, "crowned as they had been with such complete success; a result attributed not less to the judgment with which those operations were planned, than to

* Chinese Repository, vol. xvi. p. 191.

the admirable discipline of H. M. military and naval forces;" — to the latter, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty conveyed "the expressions of their entire satisfaction at the gallantry with which a service was performed that reflected fresh lustre on the British navy."

The Chinese authorities themselves seemed to have no objection to the continuance of a small British detachment at Canton until the wall, which was to close up the dangerous thoroughfare, had been completed. A different tone now prevailed in official communications, and respectful addresses being received, even from the people, were answered in a corresponding manner. Keying's reply to certain Chinese petitioners indicated his intention to preserve order, and even the new Lieutenant-governor, generally reported unfavourable to foreigners, plainly proclaimed that "peace must be preserved." The following testimony to the results of the expedition appeared about three months after, and was at least impartial, as it came from an American quarter:— "The prompt exhibition of power, the reasonable demand of justice, the skilful

conduct of affairs, the equitable settlement of difficulties, which are certainly distinctive characteristics of the policy that has been pursued, have (as in the natural remunerations of justice they ought to have done) not only gone far in securing the particular ends that were desired, but appear sensibly to have increased the respect and goodwill, while they have tended not a little to suppress the contempt and ill-feeling, of the Chinese community towards foreigners." *

The Parsee merchants of Bombay trading to Canton, an industrious and wealthy race, forming a part of our extensive empire in the East, came in for their share of the fruits of the expedition. Their religion imposes a peculiar mode of sepulture, to which, of course, they attach great importance, but yet had been obliged to forego in China, as they could never procure a cemetery. This was now obtained for them at Wampoa, secured by a deed, and surrounded by a wall.

From this time until the last month of 1847, time rolled on without any event of much

* Chinese Repository, 1847, p. 366.

importance; and Keying, on several occasions, proved his good intentions by making examples of several individuals who had been guilty of unprovoked assaults on British subjects. The disorder of the province in the meanwhile was making serious progress, and those social evils, some account of which has been given at the close of the First Chapter, were rendering themselves more plainly felt in and about Canton. It was not even then difficult to foresee something like the state of things which now prevails in the southern provinces. H. M. Consul at Canton had forwarded to me a paper strongly indicative of the disorganised state of the neighbouring country, and stating the open plunder of a large town only twenty-five miles distant from Canton. The Consul expressed his apprehension that if these banditti, or whatever else they might be called, "allured by the prospect of a rich booty, should approach nearer to Canton, and, joined by the dregs of the populace, make a sudden attack upon the suburbs, there was reason to fear that any Chinese military force opposed to them would be altogether insufficient to beat them off, and save

the foreign quarters, or even the Chinese, from being pillaged and burned."

This want of government protection, and the spirit of independent organization, already described as following on our war, had led to the maintenance, at a considerable expense, of what were called "village braves," a species of irregular militia, who (as might have been expected in China) had proved not only expensive but troublesome to their employers. The people, finding that they were a great burthen to themselves, had publicly expressed their desire and intention to pay this irregular force out of the taxes due to the government, who could not protect them from banditti.

Having noticed to Keying that the continuance of the extravagancies of this undisciplined militia must endanger the public peace, he returned a reply, in which he admitted the fact, and explained its origin in the manner already stated, adding, that they had "carried things too far," and must be controlled; which, it was to be feared, was often beyond his power, the organization being much too extensive.

These licensed vagabonds frequently in-

sulted foreigners who went into the country adjoining Canton, and issued notices that they would maltreat or kill any that encroached upon their neighbourhood. This rendered it more or less hazardous to undertake excursions out of the town. The safety of foreigners had now been pretty well secured at the foreign quarter; but they could not roam into the country with the same security that they might at the new ports of Shanghae, Ningpo, Foochow-foo, and Amoy. Under these unfavourable circumstances, it happened that on Sunday, the 5th of December, six British subjects went out on an excursion into the country, some of them having unfortunately pocket pistols in their possession. It never could be very exactly ascertained how the unequal contest began, but proofs were subsequently obtained, that with these pistols one Chinese had been shot dead, and another (who appeared at the Consulate) wounded in the abdomen. The miserable fate of the individuals themselves, was to be cruelly murdered by the brutal and exasperated populace, and their bodies thrown into the river.

The anxiety of Keying at this tragical oc-

currence, and its possible consequences, was proved by his immediately despatching a note, by anticipation, in which he declared that not an individual of the guilty should escape. I was on board the Dædalus frigate within a few hours for Canton, and found that Keying's first note had, in that short time, been followed up by two others successively, offering every assurance that all which justice required should be done. It was only requisite to convince him, in reply, of the feeling which would be excited by the late barbarous atrocity, and the inevitable consequences of its not being fully punished. In an early subsequent note he detailed the farther measures taken for the apprehension of the murderers, and that several of the parties concerned had been already captured.

After nine days' discussion at Canton, the point was carried that, without waiting for the emperor's warrant, four of the most guilty should be immediately executed (as in extreme cases) at the village where the crime was committed, in the presence of a company of the 95th regiment, and a number of deputed officers. Eleven others, less deeply implicated,

were to await the emperor's decision. Accordingly, on the 21st of December, the execution of the four took place in the presence of the troops and officers, and an immense crowd of spectators, by severing their heads from their bodies. After the lapse of the necessary interval of time, a confirmation from Peking was received to the detailed report, in which the names and degrees of criminality of each prisoner were given. One of the remaining eleven was consigned to decapitation, one to strangulation, three to distant exile for life, and six, who were implicated in only a minor degree, to a lesser exile and the bastinade.

A copy of Keying's report to the emperor was afterwards obtained, containing an account of the whole proceeding in this matter, and proving the sincerity of purpose with which he had acted. After showing the necessity for a severe example, he adds, "I should therefore wish to chastise with the utmost rigour these stupid villagers, that the stubborn population may learn to stand in awe, unnumbered troubles be prevented hereafter, and no excuse afforded to the English for revenging themselves. As the undeserving of

clemency is but one village, and those deserving of consideration are a number of provinces, the capital punishments in one for the edification of hundreds can be no reproach to your sacred majesty's humanity and tender regard for life." The examples made in this atrocious case appear, after the lapse of some years, to have had the effect of preventing a repetition of such crimes ever since in the neighbourhood of Canton.

When the year 1849 arrived, the Chinese government pleaded the same reason for being unable to keep its engagements respecting the city of Canton, as it had done seven years before, after the signing of the treaty—the unwillingness of the people. It was determined by Her Majesty's government that this point should not then be insisted on, the right having been formally acknowledged by the emperor, whenever circumstances should admit of its being carried out.

The writer in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," already quoted, applauds this as the right course. He adduces the pleas of the Chinese government; "Vous dites que, dans les autres ports ouverts au commerce,

les étrangers peuvent parcourir librement l'intérieur de la ville, et qu'il n'en est pas de même à Canton: mais le peuple de Canton est indisciplinable, et si les lois ne lui plaisent pas, il refuse d'y obéir; jusqu'ici il n'a pas voulu que les étrangers pénétrassent dans la cité, et les mandarins ne peuvent exercer sur lui aucune contrainte. . . . . On voit que l'autorité règne peut-être en Chine, mais à coup sûr elle ne gouverne pas. En présence de ces naïfs et lâches aveux, quelle attitude l'Angleterre pouvait elle prendre? L'Angleterre a sagement agi; elle n'a point fait la guerre."

The government of China is now too anxiously occupied with its internal troubles to have much time or attention for external relations. A rebellion in two provinces, with a Chinese antagonist to the Tartar emperor, has hitherto proceeded in a manner to excite the solicitude, and tax the energies, of the young and recently installed sovereign.

CHAPTER VI.

DISORGANISED STATE OF CHINA. — REBELLION IN THE SOUTH.

WHATEVER may be the final result of the internal troubles which now afflict China, they are, in no small degree, the consequences of that disgrace and defeat which the proud and boastful government of the country sustained in the war with Great Britain. Until then, the assumption of immense superiority had in some way or other been maintained; but the necessary humiliations imposed by the treaty of Nanking were so great and so public, that there was no disguising them. The people had not received that protection which had been expected from the emperor's forces; they had, on the contrary, seen those forces completely repulsed and dispersed in every single instance, and were no longer able to regard their rulers with the respect and awe which they had hitherto inspired.

The change was felt in many parts of the

country. The people began to oppose the payment of their former exactions, insurrections arose in various quarters, and bands of robbers, always a source of trouble, now began to defy the government. The public documents in the Peking Gazette clearly betrayed the weak and temporising course which it became necessary to adopt. It was evident that there was a tendency to yield to necessity, and a fear of pushing matters to extremes.

By a long established rule of the government, the possession of fire-arms had always, previous to the war with England, been denied to the common people; and even the sale of iron had at one time been restricted, lest it might be converted to other uses than those of agriculture. But during the war there had been such a liberal distribution of arms to persons of all descriptions, that they remained in the possession of many who were soon ready to make a bad use of them. The growth of piracy since the war may be in a great measure attributed to this cause. The mere possession of weapons led to their abuse, and those, who were fishermen or smugglers to-day, were pirates to-morrow. The govern-

ment, on the other hand, had become weaker and less able to control, in proportion as the exertion of its powers was more required.

The prevalence of piracy was a serious check to the resort of Chinese vessels to Hong-kong. It was in vain to call on Keying to disarm or destroy these innumerable free-booters, for the Chinese navy had not only suffered diminution from the war, but its moral prestige had experienced still worse damage. Keying confessed that private vessels had received licences to carry arms during the continuance of hostilities, but that they should have been given up after the peace; still they were not given up, and frequently, where pirates were boarded and called on to explain the possession of great quantities of arms, they were ready to produce their licences as an excuse.

Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Chinese government to acknowledge its weakness, every offer of aid and co-operation against the pirates was frequently made, and at length the evil became too great to be borne. They swarmed along the whole of the east coast, as far as Foochow-foo, and became the terror of

native junks, which frequently accepted convoy from European vessels. But these themselves were not always safe. Two opium vessels, the Omega and Caroline, were surprised by pirates at night while lying at anchor, not far from Amoy. Being wholly unprepared for the attack they were easily carried, the masters murdered, with many of the crews, and a very large amount of booty carried off.

A severe example, however, was very soon made. A valuable trading junk having been captured near the coast, Captain Loring, of H.M.'s ship Scout, received notice of the same, and was fortunate enough to fall in with the pirates and their prize. Eighty-six of these robbers were landed at Amoy under a guard of marines, who were soon joined by a hundred Chinese soldiers. The populace hooted the pirates, and manifested much satisfaction at seeing the English and Chinese military acting together. They were all tried before a Chinese tribunal, at which the English Consul and Captain Loring were present. Being brought up in divisions of five at a time, the process was conducted in the sum-

mary mode which characterises the legal practice of the country. Two were found innocent, and the guilt of four was pronounced doubtful; but all the rest, with the exception of a young boy, spared at the intercession of the consul, were despatched to Foochow, and there beheaded. This event was the cause of much joy among the people, who had suffered from the pirates and were now loud in their praises of the British. The pirates, on the other hand, declared that their star had set: they had hitherto fought with men, but the gods had now sent the English to destroy them. Many more pirates were subsequently captured by Captain Loring; and in 1849 their whole fleet received a crushing blow from Captains Hay and Wilcox of the Royal navy, on the coast to the westward of Hongkong.

The evils on shore rivalled those at sea. It has been seen that during the war there was little or no sympathy or co-operation between the government and the inhabitants of the places visited by the British forces, except, indeed, at Canton; and even there the populace treated the matter rather as an ancient feud

of their own, and acted independently. When towns on the coast were captured, the rabble followed close upon our troops, and plundered their own countrymen. The universal disorder and confusion thus generated, left their traces and effects after the conclusion of the peace, and have never been completely remedied. Stimulus and encouragement was especially given to the secret societies, which under the names of the Triad, the Water Lily, and other designations, have been long in existence with the professed object of restoring the Ming, or Chinese dynasty, by the expulsion of the Tartars.

Several branches of the association have degenerated into combinations of robbers and outlaws dangerous to society, making use of mystic rules and symbols, together with conventional slang terms, for the purposes of mutual understanding and secrecy. Many members of the fraternity were detected at Hongkong, which they perhaps thought would be a safe and profitable haunt; but they received little encouragement there, being in some instances handed over to the Chinese government with their treasonable papers.

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kindred,—to treat each other as brothers, and afford hospitality and aid on every occasion; and, in short, to be leagued together against all the world.

The condition of the country favoured their operations. In 1847, one of the Tartar garrison of Canton had undesignedly occasioned the death of a Chinese girl. So ready was the populace to flock together and resent it, that a general insurrection was with the utmost difficulty prevented, and the house of the Tartar commandant completely destroyed. Towards the north, the inhabitants of Ningpo and its neighbourhood had always been found peculiarly quiet, and especially friendly to the British; but in the course of the year 1845 they got up a most serious insurrection against their own government, the minutest particulars of which were communicated by the mandarins at that place to the British consul.

It originated in some extortionate proceedings on the part of the officers of government in the collection of taxes, and was, unfortunately for them, joined by the literati, the most influential and powerful class. A deputation of three proceeded from the re-

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The oaths which they take are ratified by a number of idle ceremonies, as pricking the finger and besmearing themselves with the blood. They swear never to abandon their principles and objects, — to restore the old Chinese empire, and revenge the injuries that have been suffered, — to be faithful to the association and to each other, — to keep the affairs of the society secret from their nearest

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entrance, changed clothes with one of his followers, and, twisting his tail round his head like an artisan, took his hasty departure. The enraged crowd were now admitted by old Shoo to search the house, and, being disappointed of their prey, wreaked their vengeance on the Taoutae's innocent sedan chair, which, with his wardrobe, they burnt in the street. They were going to set to work with his followers, when these exclaimed that they belonged to Shoo. The mob demanded how many he had? Shoo claimed as many as eighteen, but disclaimed two, who were caught after the completion of that number. These two were severely injured by the rioters, while their master was making the best of his way back to Ningpo, which he reached the next day, weary, dirty, humbled, and sad. His wife met him on his return with the women of his household, weeping and exclaiming, "You went away in state, with criers, gongs, and chair; you return capless, chairless, and degraded!"

Shoo was appealed to by the rioters, and requested to proceed to Hângchow, the capital of the province, and become their advocate with the governor. To this he readily gave

his assent, and immediately left Foonghwa; but when fairly out of the reach of the insurrection, turned into the Ningpo road and sought his home, thankful to have returned with his life.

An engagement afterwards took place between the rioters and the Ningpo militia, in which six hundred, or, as some said, a thousand, of the latter were defeated. The British consul saw seventeen of the wounded, of whom only two were severely hurt. Fatigue, hunger, and poverty, seemed to be their chief complaints. At this time, on the 12th of October, the French minister arrived from Chusan in the Nemesis steamer, which had been placed at his service. At eight o'clock in the morning the acting chief magistrate called on the consul, saying that he was anxious to see the French minister, and would wait for him. He appeared very low spirited, stating that there were bad accounts from Foonghwa; that three mandarins had been killed and the militia defeated; that the Taoutae was a prisoner with the rebels, who would probably soon advance on Ningpo.

The magistrate remained with H. M.'s con-

sul until the French minister landed. In the meanwhile various messages arrived, upon the receipt of which the mandarin's countenance betrayed much emotion, and the thoughts of his breast evidently troubled him. A military officer from Foonghwa was announced, and from the whisperings and movements among the attendants some calamity seemed to be at hand. Our mandarin drank tea and cherry-brandy, and frequently repeated the application, but would not be comforted. He at last told the consul that the commandant of Ningpo, with six military and three civil officers, had been killed. He afterwards saw the French minister and repeated that the Taoutae was surrounded by the rebels, and that they were many thousands strong.

It was during this interval that the Ningpo mandarins endeavoured to remove their families and household effects from the city; but the people would not permit it:—"No," they said, "you, our magistrates, were the first to move your families and treasures when the English came here, and then withdrew yourselves. This time we will all remain, and take our chance together." It was the news of this

that seemed to alarm the consul's guest. He heard of the clamour raised by the relatives of the killed and wounded, who surrounded his office and reproached him with the loss of husbands, brothers, and sons. Intense alarm was felt throughout the day, but on the following morning all took courage on hearing that the commandant of Ningpo had been only made a prisoner by the rebels; and still more courageous did they become when it was discovered that all ten madarins were living and on their way to the city.

The governor at Hângchow hastened to Ningpo with ten or twelve thousand Chinese troops. The people of Foonghwa now lost heart, and sent ten aged men as deputies to solicit clemency; but they were told that the matter must be referred to the emperor, whose commands would be obeyed. It was said at the time that the governor had represented this insurrection as having been incited by traitorous natives of Chusan, then in the possession of the British; but this was easily contradicted. It was really the result of extortion on the part of the local authorities,

several of whom were punished, and the whole business at length hushed up.

This was a very small sample of the troubles that have prevailed in various quarters since the period of our war; but the worst have occurred in the most southern provinces, where the infection first spread from Canton and became general. The increase of banditti, chiefly in connection with the Triad association, was a subject of universal complaint; and the popular militia, raised by subscription to oppose these, enabled the people to dispute their taxes with the government. The acting magistrate of Foshan, a town about fifteen miles only from Canton, was removed from his post in consequence of a large pawn-broking establishment (rich and extensive depositories in China, where nearly all loans are on pledge) having been forcibly carried and plundered in open day. If the government was now powerless on shore, it was still worse on the water. A despatch from the consul at Amoy detailed a case wherein a Chinese trading junk was rescued from pirates close to the harbour by two small European passage-boats. The Chinese officer at Amoy showed the greatest

anxiety to arrange the business, so that it should not come to the knowledge of his government.

To the growing evils by which he was surrounded, the late emperor, older in constitution than in years, was little able to oppose any effectual remedies. His difficulties had been greatly increased by the indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars to be paid for the war, at the same time that the war had exhausted his resources. The revenue which had been in some cases anticipated could not again be raised, and thus there arose a financial crisis of the worst description. Trade had of course suffered during the war, especially that of the beleagured coast, and the usual produce of the customs was greatly impaired. Natural evils combined with the political to enhance the difficulties of the government. An unusually wet year, and the inundations of the Yangstekeang and Yellow river devastated several provinces; and in Honan, especially, the walls of the metropolis Kaefoong-foo were swept away. The principal source of Chinese revenue is the land-tax, and with all his absolute power the emperor cannot easily de-

part from the traditions of the country, or change those rules of taxation which time has sanctioned.

To provide for his immediate necessities, the emperor was advised to have recourse to a system of patriotic aids on the part of wealthy persons, who, in return for subscribing certain sums, were to receive a nominal rank, and enjoy particular privileges. This system of barter succeeded in some measure, and at Canton a host of candidates for such honours subscribed enough to rebuild the damaged defences. Similar appeals succeeded in other quarters, but such a source was easily exhausted, for when these distinctions and privileges increased in number they diminished at the same time in value, and future offers were less readily welcomed. Then came the infinitely worse proposition, to dispose of civil offices for money, an infraction of the fundamental principle of China, on which has been based so much of her stability and comparative good government. By giving this unfair and unconstitutional advantage to wealth over personal merit, a blow was aimed at the most influential class in the country, the

learned, and the manifest tendency was to alienate them from the Tartar rule.

It was long ago observed of the Chinese — "Wealth alone, though it has of course some necessary influence, is looked upon with less respect, comparatively, than perhaps in any other country, and this because all distinction or rank arises almost entirely from educated talent. The choice of official persons, who form the real aristocracy of the country, is guided, with a very few exceptions, by the possession of those qualities, and the country is as ably ruled (internally) as it could be under the circumstances. 'Les lettrés ont acquis un grand ascendant sur le peuple; la politique s'en est emparé dans toutes les dynasties, et c'est sans doute à cette réunion des esprits que la Chine doit son bonheur, sa paix, et sa prospérité.'"

The course to which the emperor was urged by his pecuniary necessities was by far the worst that could have been adopted, and in China infinitely worse than in any other country. There the smallest community has its aspirant to official employment through the preliminary path of learning, and to

alienate this class was to make interested enemies of those whose influence has been long known to be paramount among the people. It has been seen that the insurrection at Ningpo was caused entirely by a violence done to one of their number; and at Canton they have swayed even the disorderly populace of that old seat of European commerce.

When it was known that civil offices might be eventually obtained by the contribution of certain fixed sums, there was at first no dearth of candidates. As the possession of office might be turned to pecuniary advantage, it was a sort of investment, and the subscribers to such a lottery were sufficiently numerous. The vacancies, however, were in a small proportion to the aspirants, and these soon found they had the chance of waiting with no very early prospect of seeing their expectations realized. It was discovered that, considering the ordinary rate of mortality among official persons, ten years would hardly make room for all who had been registered for employment in one. The purchasers became discontented at finding they had spent their money to little purpose; and to meet their clamours,

a course of rigid severity was adopted towards the actual occupants of office, who, on the commission of the slightest error, either real or imputed, were ousted, and some monied candidate substituted.

If any thing had been wanting to rouse the literary and official class against the government, it was this. They had always and justly enjoyed, as an inherent constitutional right, the undisputed privilege of filling honourable magisterial offices, and now saw themselves displaced by the merely rich. The general dissatisfaction of the most influential class of the Chinese community, at being thus defrauded of their ancient rights, became a source of danger to the Tartar rule. Two antagonistic parties now existed,—the advocates of the new financial system, most of them Manchows,—and the members of the old Chinese school, with a long tale of their ill-treatment and their grievances.

As a proof of the shifts to which the government was reduced for money, it was seriously proposed that all punishments (with the exception of some capital ones), should be at least commutable for money, if not positively

substituted by pecuniary fines. The suggestion was listened to, and instances were quoted in the Peking Gazette of criminals having compounded for their offences. In the meanwhile the measures of retrenchment, adopted with a view to meeting the desperate state of the public finances, were paltry and inadequate in amount; and even these fell on the learned class, who were deprived of a fixed stipend by which their expenses had been paid to the places of public examination. The emperor in his most flourishing days had been parsimonious and averse from expenditure on public works. Any proposition of this kind was now often liable to be rejected without examination. In Honan there were extensive valleys reduced to marshes, or rather lakes, by inundation; but, notwithstanding the earnest representations of the inhabitants and local authorities, they remained unremedied.

It is well known that not a single measure has been taken by the emperor's government against opium since the war, now a period of nearly ten years. Every endeavour was made by both Sir Henry Pottinger and myself, to persuade Keying to use his influence at Peking

for legalizing the trade, but entirely without success. He readily professed his own wish to see it freed from the odium of illegality, but expressed an apprehension that the smuggling would continue, and the duties be evaded. His fear of representing the subject, or offering any advice to the emperor, was grounded on this uncertainty; as Chinese ministers are held responsible for the consequences of any measures that may be adopted at their suggestion.

Keying, on the other hand, in 1844, addressed me a note in which he openly proposed that the opium trade should be carried on by mutual connivance. In conformity with this rule, not a single proclamation against it had been issued since the peace; and when H. M.'s consul at Shanghae, according to treaty, denounced the opium ships to the mandarins, the local government evinced no desire to receive the information. The only thing wanting was, that the emperor should publicly sanction what he had once publicly condemned,—and this was found impossible by Chinese pride or policy.

The trade, however, was practically tolerated, and to us this made a great difference.

The Chinese government was not sufficiently honest to make a public avowal of this change in its system; but the position in which Great Britain stood became materially altered. China had distinctly declined a conventional arrangement for the remedy of the evil, and expressed a desire that we should not bring the existing abuse to its notice. The systematic manner in which the opium trade was now carried on by the officers of government, especially in the Canton river, as a sort of mandarin monopoly, led to the conclusion (independently of the direct avowal) that there was at present no wish for a change. As the impoverished finances of the government did not admit of the public servants being adequately paid in a legitimate manner, this corrupt system had taken the place of it; more especially at Canton, where the reforms introduced by the tariff of duties had deprived the officers of a large amount of their irregular gains under the old regime.

In 1845, the growth of smuggling of every description, in connection with that of opium, reached such a height at Whampoa, within the Canton river, as to interfere seriously with

the rights of the fair trader. It became my duty to adopt effective measures against it; which was not difficult under the provisions of the treaty, and in co-operation with Keying. It appeared, however, that British vessels were not the only smugglers, and a reasonable communication was received by H. M.'s consul from the English merchants, pointing out the hardship of the restrictions being confined to them, while the smuggling ships of other nations could remain at Whampoa. It became necessary to call on Keying to do what was required on the part of the Chinese government, and a despatch from the consul soon reported that the smugglers of all descriptions, including those under foreign flags, had quitted Whampoa and the interior of the river.

With reference to the unrepealed prohibition, and the actual toleration, of opium, the writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* observes, — "Que penser d'un gouvernement qui tolère une pareille moquerie? Mieux voudrait céder." Such proofs of weakness and corruption as have been exhibited are sufficient, of themselves, to explain and account for the present

disorganisation of the country. "Une vaste révolte a éclaté récemment dans le province du Kwangtong; ces populations, que nous croyions si calmes, ont donné trop d'exemples d'indiscipline pour que nous ne soyons pas autorisés à considérer leurs fréquentes rébellions comme les symptômes d'une désorganisation presque générale, — Qui sait si les troupes Chinoises seront long-temps assez fortes pour réprimer les révolutions intérieures; alors que des escadres de pirates ont pu s'abattre impunément sur les côtes, remonter les fleuves, repousser les jonques de guerre, et même, si les récits sont exacts, conclure des traités avantageux avec les mandarins?"

As long ago as 1846, the increase of robbers on land, and of pirates at sea, had given rise to serious apprehensions. The former had assembled in thousands, and openly attacked towns, making it necessary to detach troops against them. Without confining the observation to the Canton province, where plunder and rapine were ordinary occurrences, similar complaints were made in many others, particularly to the south of the Keang. As in

some instances the local government was powerless against the banditti, it became necessary for the people of the districts to arm and organize themselves in self-defence. This measure of necessity, while it proved the weakness of the rulers, taught the masses the secret of their own strength, and became an additional source of danger to the Tartar rule.

At Canton especially was displayed this systematic combination, frequently to resist the measures of government, or to execute some popular design. When the multitude burned the residence of an unpopular magistrate, they abstained entirely from plunder under the conduct of their leaders, and stationed themselves on the roofs of neighbouring houses to prevent the flames from spreading. The chief authorities either took no notice of these excesses, or punished the obnoxious mandarins as the causes of them. We have seen* that after the conclusion of the peace a municipal force was organized in and about Canton among the people themselves. This was done with the approval of the emperor, to guard

* Chapter i. p. 27.

the frontier against foreigners; and even Keying at first recommended such armed associations, until he discovered by experience that they were dangerous to the government. It was soon found out that the multitudes thus armed were under the direction of demagogues, and would act as the leaders directed them. Public halls were opened to debate on certain measures, and affiliated societies formed in various parts to act in union with the parent institutions. It had never been supposed before that the people could enjoy any rights or privileges beyond those founded on the most ancient usage, or spontaneously granted by the bounty of the emperor. Now, however, they claimed, or rather actually possessed, a degree of liberty or licence inconsistent with a despotic government, and perilous to a very weak one, as that of China certainly had become since our war.

On the 25th of February, 1850, the emperor Taoukwang died, after a reign of nearly thirty years. His death was announced to the British authorities in China in these terms: — "I write to inform you I have just received intelligence from Peking, that upon

the 14th of the first moon the emperor departed upon the great journey, mounting upwards on the dragon to be a guest on high, and that the heir on the same day ascended the throne." *Le roi est mort — vive le roi.* He was succeeded by a son under the age of twenty, who, as the sovereign of China always declares his successor, was nominated thus: — "On the 14th of the first moon the Emperor summoned to his presence the Comptroller of the imperial clan, the President of the Board of Civil Offices, with the Ministers who wait upon His Majesty, and wrote a decree in the vermillion pencil to this effect: 'We hereby appoint Yih-chu, our fourth son, to be heir. Princes and Ministers, be unanimous in assisting him with your counsel to make the people his chief consideration in every measure, and to give his attention to nought but what concerns them.'" The immature age of the new emperor was not a favourable circumstance at the present juncture, as a change in the succession to an Oriental despotism, while the country is in an unsettled state, requires experience and age, rather than the opposite disqualifications. It

is unfortunate that the young sovereign has not since shown much wisdom in dismissing from his counsels such men as Keying and Muhchangah, who were the long-chosen ministers and friends of his father.

It is certain that the insurrectionary movements in the south have advanced, both in extent and activity, ever since the demise of the old emperor. From August, 1850, every month's advices have brought intelligence of their progress, with the avowed object of expelling the Tartars, and with a Chinese aspirant at their head, professing to be the representative of the Ming dynasty. A concise narrative will serve to bring the history of these revolutionary transactions down to the present time.

In the month of July, or earlier, in 1850, not long after the new emperor's accession, the province of Kwangse, west of Canton, became the theatre of a rebellion against the imperial authorities, over whom they gained some important advantages. The leader, by name Letingpang, was *said* to have the disposal of fifty thousand men, and to display banners inscribed with "Extermination to the

Tartar, and restoration of the Ming dynasty." They had become possessed of the district of Ho-chow, quite on the east of the Kwangse province, and bordering on that of Canton, thereby causing considerable alarm, and leading to the disgrace of Seu Tajin, the governor-general of the two provinces, whose measures had not succeeded in preventing or quelling the rebellion.

Reports of attacks made within a hundred and twenty miles of Canton, the capture of small towns, and successes against the government forces, continued to arrive. The chief authorities viewed the progress of the banditti or rebels with evident alarm, and made preparations to protect the city. The neighbouring provinces of Hoonan and Kweichow were also in a disturbed state, and a decree of the 25th of July directed the governors of those provinces to be vigilant and active. The formidable body of insurrectionists was said to be composed of natives of all four provinces, and it is most likely that Canton, with its long existing and organized indiscipline, had a considerable share. The government troops had been frequently beaten, reinforcements were

being sent out without intermission, and an officer of some consequence had fallen into the hands of the rebels, the men under him having deserted in large numbers to the enemy.

Towards the latter end of the year 1850, certain rebels in the north of Canton province issued a manifesto, by which they justified the levy of contributions on their fellow-subjects, on the plea that they did no more than the Manchow Tartars, a small horde, which had usurped the revenues and government of China. One of the leaders had set up a huge yellow banner inscribed with *Ping Tsing Wang*, "The king who subdues the Tartars." Another chief, surnamed "Hairy head," probably from having repudiated the Tartar tonsure, issued proclamations in imperial style. The ex-commissioner Lin, whose mad course in 1839 was probably the remote cause of all these troubles, was ordered to proceed south and subdue them; but he died *en route*, a fortunate escape, perhaps, from an unhopeful expedition. In the meanwhile farther successes were obtained against the government, and their progress occasioned considerable disquiet at Peking.

One of their manifestoes contained the usual complaints of the discontented in all countries —"Are we willingly practising what is evil? How can we help it, while the world (the Chinese empire) is as we find it. On the one hand, we are annoyed by the police of the superior authorities; on the other, we suffer from the absorption of all advantages by the wealthy. Dealers in merchandise do not make half a grain of profit, and industrious people cannot gain a fraction of money."

The following report was sent to the emperor of the devastations committed in Kwangse:—"They surrounded and attacked the city of Nan-ning, and also that of Leu-chow. Representations were made to those in command, but they merely delegated persons to enquire into the facts, or moved out a force of a hundred or two strong to observe the operations of the rebels. In consequence of this the outlaws have continued to increase in number; officers have been killed by them in their encounters, and they have taken up different positions, mustering thousands at each. The inhabitants pillaged from first to last amount to many tens of thousands of

families. Hundreds of thousands of fields and lands were lying waste, producing nothing for lack of cultivation. The communications were blocked up, and all the approaches by land and water occupied by the rebels, so that the supplies of government could not pass."

The beginning of 1851 was rife with reports of the progress of the insurgents, who appeared to have established their power in the districts overrun by them. The government forces were said to have been repeatedly repulsed, and many officers in different parts of the province of Kwangse killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Their strongholds seemed to extend along the eastern side of Kwangse from north to south, and to enter the Canton province on the west side, so that from being the rebellion in Kwangse, this soon became the rebellion in "the two Kwang."

The anxiety manifested at Peking bore testimony to the serious character of the progress made against the government. This was farther confirmed by the heavy expenses incurred in the contest — doubly heavy when considered in connection with the ruinous condition of the revenue. The governor of Canton, being

instructed to send a million of taels to the adjoining province, was sore pressed for means to meet the demand. The emperor considered the state of things in the south so critical, that he despatched two Tartar officers of the highest rank against the rebels. The first of these was Saishangah, principal Tartar minister at Peking; and the second Tahungah, who has been already noticed*, on account of his barbarous murder of the shipwrecked British subjects at Formosa, and his subsequent promotion; so little in accordance with genuine good faith, and so illustrative of the Chinese variety.

The overland news of June, 1851, brought the intelligence that the troubles caused by the outlaws in the southern provinces of China had increased, and that by a late report from Canton, one of the leaders in Kwangse had not only taken to himself the title of a sovereign, but had gone so far as to name the present year the first of *Tien tih*, "Celestial virtue," which he would have to be the style of his reign. He had issued copper coin bearing

* Page 8.

those characters, and proclaimed an invitation to people of talent to come forward and take office. About the year 1351, just 500 years before the date of the present assumption, it is remarkable that the rebellion of the Chinese commenced against the former Tartar dynasty, that of the Mongols, under which Marco Polo possessed so much credit at Peking. The Mongols having been expelled by the Chinese in the middle of the 14th century, and the Chinese again by the Manchows in the middle of the 17th century, it now remains to be seen if the Manchows are to be put down in their turn by the Chinese in the middle of the 19th century, after a tenure of about 200 years.

Such is the natural strength of the mountainous country occupied by the insurgents, that they seemed able to retire at will into positions where they could set the government forces at defiance. In the month of July, 1851, they had taken and sacked Kwei-lin, the capital of Kwangse, and their branches had now extended to four contiguous provinces — the two Kwâng, Hoonan and Keang-se. The possession of the narrow mountainous pass between Nangan and Nanheung would cut off

the government communication with Canton, and give them a vast advantage. Should the progress of the insurrection continue unchecked, this may be considered as a very likely event; and until it does take place, the emperor's government cannot be considered as subverted in the South. The pass in question constitutes, in fact, the key to Canton and to the province on the West. The aspect of affairs during the middle of 1851 was sufficiently serious to require the governor-general of the two provinces to quit Canton with a large force in person. *Tien-tih*, the soi-disant emperor, subsequently addressed a proclamation to the people, in which he engaged that if the rule of "Celestial virtue" triumphed, "the land would become happy, and the governors honest as those in ancient times."

The city of Canton, in the meanwhile, has gathered the natural fruits of that insane and fatal policy which the government adopted subsequent to the capitulation in May, 1841. Unable to oppose foreigners, they encouraged the excesses of the populace against them, until this weapon recoiled

upon themselves. They sowed the wind, and reaped the whirlwind. A letter from China states, — "Canton, as a place of trade, there can be little doubt is retrograding. With the combined effects of the insurrections in the neighbourhood, and the competition of Shanghae, I shall not be surprised to find it rapidly decline, with a preponderating balance at that new port. Such an event would be much in favour of Hongkong. A circular from the leading people at Canton has appeared, calling on all to contribute funds as well as personal service for the defence of the city. They refuse (it is said) to have any concern with the government agents, who are trying to influence them to aid the authorities in the defence of Canton against the rebels, assigning as a reason the corrupt expenditure of the funds before furnished to the government against foreigners. If this may be relied on, it is an important feature, and proves that the people are disposed to keep themselves neutral between the government and the rebels; in a position to side with the strongest as circumstances may render expedient."

The drama has not as yet reached the fifth act; but, were the catastrophe of a tragical cast, it would be strictly in accordance with the principles of poetical justice. At the commencement of the present year, the emperor's troops had suffered severely in a contest with the rebels, and the inhabitants of Canton had reason to apprehend that a continuation of such warfare might place their tempting city in some jeopardy.

CHAPTER VII.

ROMISH AND PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

THE observations of a French writer in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, one who appears to have accompanied M. de Lagrené, the French minister, in his visit to China, shall serve as an introduction to the subject of this chapter. "Let us," says he, "in our policy and our commerce imitate the conduct, at once prudent and courageous, of the Catholic missions, which have for more than two centuries exerted such noble efforts in the cause of religion. Protected and proscribed, honoured and persecuted by turns, raised to-day to the dignities of the imperial court to be thrown into prison or conducted to execution to-morrow, the missionaries persevered in their glorious task, without being for a moment dazzled by the prospects of a precarious favour, or cast down by the inflictions of the most fearful hostility. All the Catholic nations of Europe, French, Spaniards, Italian, Portuguese — all their

congregations, Lazarists, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, have been leagued in this remote crusade to take Asia in the rear, and reduce to the spiritual dominion of Rome the most ancient, the most civilized, but at the same time the most corrupt of Asiatic communities. China is at this day parcelled out into bishoprics or vicariats apostolic, wherein the new apostles have divided among themselves the rude labours of conversion. Their progress is slow, but this has not damped their hopes. The faith advances only by insensible degrees, but it never recedes. God only knows how many years or how many centuries, how much devotion, and how much martyrdom may be required to complete the work.

"France has at all times distinguished herself in the first rank of Christian nations, and in China she has not been wanting in the duties imposed by her traditions, or suggested by the exigencies of the public good. This may serve at least as some compensation for the inferior place which we have held in the order of material interests; and if we are obliged to acknowledge the extent to which

England and the United States have eclipsed us by the still unceasing growth of their commerce and navigation, we may, in our turns, pride ourselves on the brilliant services rendered by the Catholic missions of France to the cause of religion and civilization.

"When M. de Lagrené found himself engaged in negotiation with the viceroy of Canton, the fate of our missionaries and the prospects of the Catholic propaganda became the subjects of his lively attention. He felt that the nation so long distinguished as the eldest daughter of the Church had a pious duty to fulfil, and that an opportunity presented itself for the solemn resumption of the honourable part of protector of the Christian faith. The mandarins charged with the negotiations showed no disinclination to the religion of the 'Lord of Heaven' (it is thus that the Chinese designate the Catholic religion), but they feared that, in authorizing the exercise of a worship hitherto severely proscribed, they should offend the popular prejudice, discontent the influential lettered class, and, above all, lose favour with the court of Peking, which had already viewed

with an evil eye, and very unwillingly endured, the concessions made to Europe. It therefore could not be hoped that the formal recognition of the Catholic religion would be inserted among the articles of the treaty; and indeed might it not have been in some sort a profanation to stipulate, in one and the same act, for the interests of commerce and for those of the faith, — to lower so holy a cause to the same level with the abolition of a tonnage duty, or the reduction of a tariff? The difficulty was evaded by the adoption of a plan which soothed the susceptibility of Chinese pride, and at the same time satisfied our legitimate wants. The viceroy, Keying, addressed to the emperor Taoukwang, in July, 1851, a petition, in which he proposed no longer to consider criminal, in the eye of the law, the leading practices of the Christian religion. In marking this address with the *vermillion pencil*, the emperor gave it the force of a decree.

"This was a great step gained, and our diplomacy might congratulate itself on the result of so many efforts. But still the official document did not yet define with

sufficient clearness, in the opinion of the French plenipotentiary, the privileges demanded by the interests of religion. The negotiations were renewed; each liberty, each right, was discussed afresh with a degree of earnestness which proved, on the one side, the strong desire to break down for ever, and at one blow, the remaining obstacles; on the other, the fear of yielding too much to foreign influence. At last, after a month of discussion, a more explicit declaration was arrived at, establishing the liberty of the Catholic worship in the Celestial empire. We will confine ourselves to quoting the most remarkable passage in this curious and little known document.

"'It appears that the religion of the Lord of Heaven mainly consists in exhorting to virtue and dissuading from vice; but on the former occasion we have not been sufficiently explicit, and it is to be feared that difficulties might arise on this subject through the various provinces. We therefore now explain that the religion of the Lord of Heaven consists in periodical assemblages for worship, in venerating the cross and images, and read-

ing aloud the books of the said religion; customs which are proper to the worship in question, so much so that without them it cannot be considered as the religion of the Lord of Heaven. Since now an exemption from punishment has been granted to the adherents of this worship, those who assemble for the adoration of the Lord of Heaven, for the veneration of the cross and images, for reciting the sacred books, and preaching the doctrine which exhorts to virtue, are professing the virtuous exercise of the said religion, and must not be in any way hindered; and wherever persons set up places for the worship of the Lord of Heaven, for the adoration of images, and exhorting to virtue, they may in this respect follow their own inclinations.'

"This proclamation leaves nothing to misunderstand. In the contest, undertaken in the name of liberty of worship, against the traditional prejudices of the Celestial empire, to us alone belongs the honour of the enterprise and the success; and in spite of the inclination of this age to respect and admire nothing but the triumphs of force, we may

with some pride place this altogether moral victory on a parallel with the conquest achieved by the English cannon under the walls of Nanking.* Nor was it without jealousy that England beheld the publication of the document which emanated from Keying."†

The only jealousy evinced on this occasion, was my very natural determination to secure for Protestants precisely the same rights that had been conceded to Romanists. The terms of the proclamation were considered by the Protestant clergy in China as giving such a precise definition of the tenets of Romanism, most peculiarly opposed to their own (*i. e.* images and the crucifix), as to shut out the Reformed religion, on the principle of "expressio unius est exclusio alterius." M. de Lagrené, at the

* But would the French success have been equal had the enterprise preceded, instead of following, the English cannon?

† It was asserted at the time that the proclamation had been obtained at the instance of a Papist bishop *in partibus* at Shanghae, noted for his bigotry, and whose jealousy had been violently excited by the increased numbers of English and American missionaries. But this was never proved satisfactorily.

same time, had a perfectly good reason for this precision in terms, which he thus explained to myself:—

" Après la notification de l'édit impérial publié à Changhai, il m'était nécessaire de provoquer des explications que les persécutions intentées contre des Chrétiens dans l'intérieur me faisaient un devoir d'exiger. Si dans sa reponse le commissaire impérial insiste particulièrement sur la croix et les images, c'est qu'en effet c'était là notre grand obstacle; le symbole spécial qui avait indiqué les Chrétiens aux yeux de l'autorité, et que, lors des persecutions intentées contre eux dans l'intérieur de l'empire, on commençait par leur enjoindre de fouler aux pieds la croix en signe d'apostasie. Du reste, les autres points communs aux Catholiques et aux Protestants sont nécessairement désignés dans la dépêche; et dans mon opinion sincère le document contient les garanties désirables. Je dois avouer, au surplus, que je me suis beaucoup plus vivement préoccupé de ce qui se passait dans l'intérieur, que des Cinq Ports eux-mêmes. Dans ceux-ci, l'influence Européene est trop bien établie désormais (grâce

à l'attitude de vos établissements Consulaires) pour qu'il n'y ait rien de sérieux à craindre de ce côté, et l'état des choses que j'ai pu constater à Amoy, à Ningpo, à Changhai, confirme pleinement cette opinion."

Images and the crucifix being the special objects of Chinese persecution, their desecration the outward and visible signs of apostacy enjoined on the native converts, there was an evident and all-sufficient reason for specifying them in an act of exemption. But this rendered it no less necessary for myself to obtain from Keying another public instrument, which should secure to Protestants *specifically* those privileges which the French minister had obtained for Romanists; seeing that Chinese casuistry had often proved itself capable of drawing distinctions where much less difference existed than between these two forms of Christianity.

Accordingly in December, 1845, the following document was received from the Chinese minister:—

"Keying, high imperial commissioner, sends the following reply to the honourable Envoy's despatch concerning equal toleration of the

religion professed by the English. When I before concluded the commercial treaty with the United States, one of the articles gave permission to erect chapels in the five ports, and all nations were to have the same privilege without distinction. Subsequently the French envoy, Lagrené, requested that natives, if they were good men, should be entirely exempted from punishment on account of their religion. I, the great minister, then again represented this matter to the throne, upon which the imperial assent was received to its being done as proposed, without drawing any distinction between the rites of the several religions. But as some of the local mandarins seized crucifixes and images, and burned them, it was subsequently settled that permission should be specifically given to worship them.

"I do not understand the lines of distinction between the religious ceremonies of the various nations; but virtuous Chinese will by no means be punished on account of their religion. No matter whether they worship images or do not worship images, there are no prohibitions against them if, when practising

their creed, their conduct is good. The honourable Envoy need, therefore, be no longer solicitous in the matter; for all Western nations will in this respect be treated on the same footing, and receive equal protection." The proclamation which ensued upon this was reported to me, by all the consuls, as having been duly promulgated at each of the Five ports.

There was the greater necessity for exercising some vigilance on this point, as the grand council of state at Peking, in reporting on the American treaty, which contained a clause in favour of chapels and burial-grounds at the consulates, contained this obnoxious passage. "Your majesty's ministers humbly conceive, that erecting halls for worship is a custom well established, but the circumstances consequent on it are not of slight importance. To see and to hear easily lead to doubt, and the stupid people may take pleasure in the *new* and loathe the *old* doctrines; when it may become difficult to prevent their imitating and surpassing what they see. Keying should therefore communicate with the several governors of provinces, and deliberate upon

making a law which shall prohibit the propagation and practice of the doctrines, and upon the necessity of causing the inhabitants along the sea-coast to understand that the strange words may not be followed nor the strange ceremonies practised, as men's hearts are influenced and governed by such practices."

The experience of some years has proved that Christianity in all its forms is perfectly tolerated at the five ports, where foreign influence is present; but that the apprehensions of the French minister were well-founded regarding the interior. Early in 1848, two Romish bishops, *in partibus infidelium*, by name Rizzolati and Novella, were apprehended by the Chinese authorities in the interior and sent under custody to Canton, whence they reached their establishment at Hongkong. On being asked if the toleration of their religion, for which the French minister had stipulated, was enjoyed by the converts within the empire, they replied that nothing of the kind had ever been conceded beyond the limits of the ports of trade. Ever since the date of the stipulations, all Chinese con-

verts in the interior had been exposed to the usual persecutions, and the agreement was construed to extend only to the five ports. These gentlemen added, that they had been kept for some time under very strict surveillance, and that their treatment had been harsh.

The writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* recognises this untoward feature in the existing relations:—"La circulaire de Kiying, tout en reconnaissant la liberté du culte Catholique, n'a point autorisé formellement l'introduction des prêtres Européens dans l'intérieur; il était impossible, en 1844, d'obtenir cette concession, puisque, aux termes du traité, la présence des étrangers n'était autorisée que dans les cinq ports ouverts au commerce. Notre politique doit tendre à léver ce dernier scrupule du gouvernement Chinois, et à protéger les missionaries Catholiques contre toute chance de persécution." Whenever this is accomplished, China will be effectually laid open to European examination; but the prospect is not at present a very near one, for our own treaties, English, French, and American,

have barred us out by the very terms in which they are worded.*

The most daring missionary enterprise perhaps on record, is that of the Lazarist priests, MM. Huc and Gabet, in 1844, previous to any stipulations whatever as to exemptions of any kind. From Manchow Tartary beyond the Great Wall they contrived, dressed as Lama priests, to penetrate through Mongolia and Thibet to L'hassa. On the way they passed months among the monastic establishments of the Buddhists, and seemed to have been recognised by them almost as brethren. Indeed, the addition which M. Huc's narrative has made to our previous knowledge of the precepts and practice of Buddhism, as it exists among the Lamas, is very considerable. Its

* In the year 1845, a Protestant missionary, at Shanghae, penetrated in a native dress to the interior of the country by the way of Woosung. The intendant of Shanghae, a very amiable man, and remarkably friendly to foreigners, represented to the provincial authorities in Chinese fashion, that it appeared on the missionary's return he had not been into the interior, but only to Chusan. This being entirely the volunteer of the worthy mandarin, and intended to screen himself from the displeasure of his superiors, he was left to settle his own account with them in his own way.

wonderful resemblance to Romanism throughout is remarked and admitted by the missionaries themselves.

The testimony which M. Gabet bore while in China to the disastrous effects of the war with England confirmed all that has been surmised or known on the subject. He declared that the empire of the Manchows must soon crumble to pieces, for the uniform course of defeat sustained throughout the contest had destroyed all feeling of respect for the government. The sale of offices for money, the insufficiency of the revenue, the general consumption by the mandarins of that opium which they had been ordered to prohibit, and the corruption and disorganization which prevailed everywhere, seemed incompatible with any stable or effective government. In addition to all this, a tribe of Thibetians were to be subdued in one quarter, some rebellious Mongols in another, and insurrections and disturbances were breaking out on all sides. The *Lien-hwa*, or "Water Lily" association, whose professed object is the restoration of the Chinese dynasty, had become more numerous than ever, while persons were heard not un-

frequently to talk of the descendants of the *Ming* family still existing; so powerful is the influence of "legitimacy" after an interruption of 200 years.

The unfortunate emperor consulted the Grand Lama on the issue of the war with Great Britain, and was at first told that he must use all the means at his disposal to subdue the enemy; but if he did not succeed, the Lama himself would come to his aid, and dispel them with a breath. Oracles themselves, however, grew wiser by experience, for when ill-success attended every effort of the Chinese, the emperor again applied to his friend at L'hassa, who on this occasion said to him, "You must accede to all their wishes, and the war will come to an end." This would have been very good advice if given a little sooner.

The activity of the missionaries of the Romish Church in China has no rival, as to either numbers or enterprise. Almost the first building erected at Hongkong was one of their churches, a very respectable structure, with dwellings attached for an establishment of priests. They have never before had so

secure an asylum on the verge of China, in case of disaster on the mainland, and they appeared at once to appreciate the advantages of the position. One of our Irish regiments, of which the private soldiers were nearly all Romanists, went far toward filling the church at Victoria, and afforded a field for the pastoral labours of the resident priests, whose attention to the men in their sickness was highly praiseworthy.

While doing justice to the merits of the Romish clergy, and their exertions in that distant part of the world, the writer in the *Revue des deux Mondes* has lost sight of the principles of fairness and candour in the following disparaging statement as to the Protestant missionaries.

" Les diverses sectes de la communion protestante possèdent également des prédicateurs qui ont enterpris la conversion des Chinois. Ces missionaires, ou plutôt ces agens, ne quittent point les ports légalement ouverts à l'étranger : ils arrivent avec leur famille ; ils sont assurés de recevoir un salaire élevé : ils exercent la médecine ou se livrent au négoce, et le prêche n'est pour eux qu'un inci-

dent de leur existence comfortable et paisible. Sans doute, en guérissant gratuitement les malades, ils inspirent aux populations Chinoises une haute idée de la science Européene; ils servent l'humanité; mais où est le mérite, quelle est la gloire de ces fonctions sans péril? Comparez le pasteur méthodiste expédié de Londres par une société d'actionnaires et apportant une cargaison de Bibles, comparez-le avec ce jeune prêtre qui, à peine débarqué sur la terre de Chine, part, plein d'ardeur et de foi, pour les provinces les plus reculées où l'attendent, après les dangers d'un long voyage, les périls plus grands encore et les privations de toute sorte et de tout instant attachés à l'apostolat! Sortant la nuit, se cachant le jour, exposé sans cesse aux soupçons d'une population ignorante ou d'un mandarin fanatique, le missionaire Francais n'a d'autre récompense que la satisfaction du devoir accompli, d'autre espoir que le martyre."

It would surprise our missionaries of the Episcopal Church to hear themselves described as "methodists sent out by a joint-stock company, with a cargo of bibles," — as if their bibles were for sale, too. It may fairly be

questioned if the judicious exertions of the Protestant missionaries in the practice of the medical art may not be as useful to both the bodies and souls of the Chinese, as the zeal "de ce jeune prêtre, qui n'a d'autre espoir que le martyre." But even this merit of martyrdom can hardly be claimed in China now, (whatever the case might have been formerly), for though several Romish priests have been arrested in the interior since our war, and conveyed to the coast or to one of the ports of trade, there seems little chance of their ever being otherwise injured. They should remember that, in penetrating to the inner provinces, they are violating the stipulations of a treaty solemnly entered into by the government of their own country.

It is, however, not surprising to meet with such an account of Protestant missionaries from a Romanist. English people carry more of their comforts and accommodations about them, especially when married, than other Europeans, and hence the remarks as to the "salaire élevé et l'existence comfortable." In a curious narrative lately published, "A Lady's Voyage round the World*," by a

* Traveller's Library.

German, and apparently a Protestant, there are similar strictures on the expensive and luxurious habits of the Protestant missionaries; coming, however, from one who seems to have had a singular taste for roughing it on all occasions, and who talks as unconcernedly of using "her pistols" as a regular modern Amazon, or, at the very least, a Bloomer. There may be some foundation for the lady's observations within the limits of her personal experience, and with a considerable allowance for difference of habits; but the strictures are of too sweeping a kind to be admitted on mere individual testimony.

"I cannot help here making some remarks on the mode of life of the missionaries which I have had, in the course of my travels, so many opportunities of observing. In Persia, China, India, everywhere I found them living quite differently from what I had imagined. I had represented to myself missionaries as half, if not whole martyrs; and supposed them to be animated with such zeal for the conversion of the heathen, that, like the apostles of Jesus Christ, they forsook all personal indulgence — all conveniences and com-

forts of life, — lived with the people under one roof, ate out of one dish, and so forth.

"Ah! those were ideas that I got out of books; things were, in reality, quite different. They live altogether in the manner of opulent gentlemen, have handsome houses fitted up with every convenience and luxury. The missionaries repose upon swelling sofas, — their wives preside at the tea-table, — their children feast on sweetmeats and confectionery, — in short, their position is one incomparably pleasanter and freer from care than that of most other people; and they get their salaries punctually paid, and take their duties very easily. In places where several missionaries are settled, they have what are called 'meetings,' three or four times a week, supposed to be devoted to business, but which are little else than parties at which their wives and children appear in tasteful dresses. At one of the missionaries' houses the meeting will be a breakfast, at another a dinner, at a third a tea-party; and you will see several equipages and servants standing in the court-yard. There is, indeed, on this occasion, some little talk of business, and the gentlemen remain

together, perhaps half an hour, discussing it; but the rest of the time is passed in mere social amusement.

"I cannot believe that this is the proper method for gaining the affections of the people, or effecting the objects of a mission. The foreign dress, the elegant mode of life, leave the poor man at too great a distance, and induce him rather to draw back in awe, than to approach in confidence and affection. He does not venture to look up to this grand, rich gentleman, and the missionary has great difficulty in overcoming the reserve and timidity thus occasioned.

"The missionaries themselves say that they must appear in this halo of splendour, in order to create respect; but I cannot but think the kind of respect they should seek would be better purchased by noble behaviour and the dignity of virtue, than by any external display.

"Many of the missionaries think they do much good by travelling through the towns and villages, preaching in the language of the country, and distributing religious tracts; and they draw up the most captivating re-

ports of the number of people that have thronged to hear them, and get their tracts; so that one might suppose that at least one half of their audience were ready for immediate conversion to Christianity. But, alas! this listening to sermons and taking tracts is no proof at all.

"Would not Chinese, Indian, or Persian priests draw immense audiences to hear them, if they should come in their national costumes to preach in French or English? Would they not have plenty of people to receive books and pamphlets that they gave away for nothing, even though no one could read them?

"In all places where I have been, I have made close inquiries on the subject of the conversions made by these missionaries, and it always appeared that they were excessively rare. The few Christians in India, small scattered communities of twenty or thirty families, have arisen from fatherless children, which the missionaries have brought up, provided afterwards with employment, and kept under vigilant superintendence, that they might not fall back into the errors of heathenism.

"Preaching sermons, and distributing tracts, do not make up the whole duties of a missionary. Any one who takes on himself this sacred office should be willing to live amongst and with the people, to share their toils, their joys, and their sorrows, and, by a modest and exemplary course of life, to gain their affections, and then communicate some simple and intelligible doctrine. It would be better, too, it appears to me, that a missionary should not be married to a European woman; firstly, because European girls are seldom willing to adopt this mode of life, except for the sake of an establishment; and secondly, that a young European woman who has children in this country, generally becomes sickly, and can then no longer fulfil the duties of her station; but stands in need of change of air, or of a voyage to Europe. The children, too, grow up weakly, and require, at least till their seventh year, to be kept away. The father will often accompany them, and take the opportunity to spend some time in his native country; or, if this is not to be managed, the family will go to the mountains in search of a cooler climate, or they go to a *Mela*, a

religious festival of India, at which thousands of people assemble, and where the missionaries often preach. On all these occasions, too, they do not travel in a humble and simple manner, but surrounded by luxurious accommodations, with palanquins carried by men, pack-horses, or camels, with tents, beds, cooking utensils, dinner services, &c., with male and female attendants, in suitable numbers. And who pays for all this? Often poor, well-meaning, believing souls in Europe and America, who perhaps deprive themselves almost of the necessaries of life that the good seed may be sown in these distant regions of the earth."—*A Lady's Voyage round the World*, p. 221.

A mission that has produced such men as Morrison, Milne, and Medhurst, can afford to be assailed with such objections as the above, whatever may be the particular instances in which they apply. In addition to their religious labours, the Protestant missionaries are likely to be the pioneers of European knowledge and civilization in China. Our acquaintance with the language has been principally owing to their labours; and the benefits of our medical and surgical science have been

widely extended among the Chinese through the medical branch of the mission. Some articles of the "Repository" (itself edited by a very old and able American missionary, Dr. Bridgman), contain a mass of information which is worth selecting, and must tend to raise the character of these indefatigable and useful men in general estimation.

In 1844, the number of Protestant missionaries in China was thirty-one. They were sent by the London and Church Missionary Societies in England, and by the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopal Churches in America. They do not reckon converts on the same principles, or by any means so easily, as the Romanists, and their apparent progress is, therefore, not so rapid. If they were less strict than they think it necessary to be, they might, like the others, reckon their converts by thousands. There was some truth in the remark made by a Romish convert, at Sincapore, to a Protestant missionary: "You will never make many converts. Your religion has too little to attract us, and requires too much. It is very

easy to become a Roman Catholic, but too hard to be a Protestant."

The objects of the mission have been classed under five heads: —

1. Preaching, which, since the war, has been immensely facilitated and increased. Those who proceed from Europe unacquainted with the language have, of course, to wait until it has been acquired, and it is well if they postpone their labours long enough to be duly qualified for the task. The work of preaching now goes on in Hongkong, and at all the five consulates, though less, perhaps, at Canton than at the four new ones, as the vicious population of that old port of trade are less well-inclined. In most of the stations, some who are regarded as converts (in the Protestant sense of the term) have been baptized, and there are already several churches of native Christians in Hongkong, which would be always a grand place of refuge in the now-improbable event of a future persecution.

2. The translation of the Old and New Testaments is, of course, a point on which our missionaries are directly at issue with the Romanists. The object of the former is to

furnish the Chinese with a perfect translation of the Bible in their own language. The difficulty of this task may be estimated from the fact, that they have hardly yet come to a decision as to the proper term to apply to the Supreme Being. The Romanists have long made use of *Tien-choo*, "The Lord of Heaven," but the Protestants reject this. Some have proposed *Shin*, the general term in China for "Spirit," or "God;" others prefer *Shangty*, "The Supreme Ruler." That the translation made by the early missionaries should be imperfect, was a matter of course. First translations are always so, and this is especially the case in a language where so many difficulties occur as to the terms, to be used in a sense wherein they were, perhaps, never used before. The later missionaries have done their utmost to improve the early versions of Morrison and Marshman. More than one revised edition of the New Testament has already been published; and the one now in use, though far from perfect, is much superior to the previous editions. Indeed, the Protestant missionaries in China have formed themselves

into a general committee for revising the existing translations of the Bible.

3. Another object to which the attention of the missionaries has been directed, is the preparation of religious tracts. Here the Romanists have been more than on a par with them. As they would not circulate the *Bible*, they were the more ready to give the Chinese something of their own; and it is said that, within forty years of their first entrance, no less than three hundred and forty different tracts were issued by them. A judicious caution in not giving such publications to any but those who would make a proper use of them seems desirable; and it may be questioned if it has, in all cases, been observed.

4. Another object which the missionaries profess, is the education of the youth of both sexes. Experience has proved that the greatest success attends the efforts which are directed to moulding the flexible minds of the young. In all the stations, and in connection with all the missions, there are schools in which numbers of youth are educated. They have not been instructed in religious knowledge merely, but also in the various branches of elementary

education. The chief of these is at Victoria, in Hongkong, under the name of the Morrison Education Society.

5. Lastly, a subject which has of late, from its great utility and promise, received much attention from the Protestant missionaries in China, is the gratuitous practice of medicine and surgery in relieving the ailments and accidents of the natives, without distinction of persons. The object of this well-devised and excellent scheme is to win the gratitude of the Chinese, gain their confidence, induce them to view us as friends, and thus prepare them to receive more readily the truths of the Bible. In this way the prejudices of the people are gradually subdued, and numbers are brought under the influence of the missionaries who would otherwise never have come near them. It is intended, when this charitable agency shall have been carried into full operation, that each medical missionary shall be joined by a clerical associate, and to a considerable extent this is already the case. In 1844 there were eight of these medical missionaries, who had already attended to above twelve thousand cases, most of them with complete success.

To the question, why do not Protestant missionaries enter the interior and prosecute their labours as the Romanists do, the answer is this. When the Jesuits were first expelled by Yoongching in 1724, they had hundreds and thousands of converts in all parts of the empire. The greater number of these remained unmolested, notwithstanding the persecution of their teachers and of some few converts of the higher orders. It was therefore easy for the Romish priests to enter the country in disguise, and to remain concealed in the houses of their proselytes. It is plain that the Protestant missionary does not possess this advantage.

But the Romanists are light troops, unencumbered with the *impedimenta* of wives and families of children, and without a moment's distraction from the one pursuit. The extraordinary resemblances between the external rites of Buddhism and Romanism — candles, idols, incense, genuflexions, rosaries,—all conduce to the ease of conversion, and when we add the facile terms on which proselytes are admitted, there is no more room for wonder at the numbers that are made. The chief

idol of the Chinese is called *Tien-how*, "Queen of Heaven," and *Shing Moo*, "Holy Mother," corresponding exactly with the *Regina Cœli*, and the *Sancta Dei genetrix* of Rome. When the Emperor Kanghy was besought by the Jesuits to be baptized, he always excused himself by saying, "that he worshipped the same deity with the Christians." There is no telling what might have been the early success of the Romanists in China, but for the DIVISIONS and DISSENT among their different orders — their grand charge against Protestantism. "It has long been the boast of Romish writers that their Church is one and undivided, and they greatly taunt the Protestants with their varied sects and bitter controversies. A more unfounded boast or senseless taunt it would be difficult to conceive. The annals of all the Protestant churches furnish no controversies so fierce, and no denunciations so bitter, as those of the Jesuits and Jansenists in Europe; and of the Jesuits and Dominicans and Franciscans in China, at the time of their prosperity. These controversies, more than anything else, led to their overthrow in China,

and the same cause has since that time stirred up other persecutions against them." *

The edifying character of Ricci, given below is rather confirmatory of the foregoing observation. "This Jesuit was active, skilful, abounding in schemes, and endowed with all the talents necessary to render him agreeable to the great, or to gain the favour of princes; but at the same time so little versed in matters of faith that, as the Bishop of Conou said, it was sufficient to read his work 'On the True Religion,' to be satisfied that he was ignorant of the first principles of theology. Being more a politician than a theologian, he found the secret of remaining peacefully in China. The rulers found in him a man full of complaisance; the pagans a minister who accommodated himself to their superstitions; the mandarins a polite courtier, skilled in all the trickery of court; and the devil a faithful servant, who far from destroying, established his reign among the heathen, and even extended it to the Christians." It appears from the *Anecdotes de la Chine*, that repeated efforts were

* Chinese Repository.

made by the Dominicans to enter China, but frustrated by the Jesuits, who wished to occupy the field by themselves.

In 1845 the question was raised in England as to the appointment of a bishop over the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in China. Being applied to in a despatch from the Foreign Office, my reply was, that "Far from being able to perceive any objection to the proposed measure, it seemed that every motive, whether religious or political, urged its adoption. The handsome endowments and indefatigable exertions of the Romanists would soon put the Protestant branch in China out of countenance, unless something were done by us for the respectability and organization of the Church of England mission. The government of China could not but approve of any institution or appointment that tended to regulation and control, and so far from anticipating objections on their part, this aspect of the proposed measure afforded a strong motive for its adoption." The Bishop of Victoria arrived at Hongkong, in Easter, 1850. It was satisfactory to the new bishop, at his first entry on his mission, to consecrate and preach

in the new church, now the cathedral (of which I laid the first stone in 1847), to a large European congregation.*

The latest report of the Church Missionary Society contains the progress of the mission to 1850. An educational institution was set on foot at Hongkong, under the charge of Dr. Moncrieff, who having been appointed colonial chaplain, by Sir George Bonham, the governor, came into the superintendence of four government native schools on the island.

Foochow-foo, however unprofitable as a port of trade, has been chosen by the missionaries, and apparently with judgment, as one of their principal fields of action.

It has appeared, in another part of this volume, that I had no small amount of trouble in 1845 to establish the right of Her Majesty's consul to reside within the city, at both Foochow and Amoy, against allegations and pretended difficulties akin to those pleaded at Canton, but much less real. The missionaries were assailed with difficulties of the same kind on their first arrival at Foochow, but being

* Annual Report of Chinese Missionary Society, 52nd year.

supported by the vice-consul there resident, and backed by the decision of the plenipotentiary at Hongkong, completely succeeded in establishing their position within the walls. This result was facilitated in no small degree by the successful practice among the Chinese of a medical missionary, Mr. Wellar, which enlisted the good feeling of the people in their favour, and enabled them to overcome the machinations of the Chinese *Literati*, those pedantic opposers of all innovations and improvements. At Foochow is a garrison of Manchow Tartars. These were visited by the missionaries, and showed great willingness to listen to them, accepting copies of the New Testament in both Chinese and Manchow.

At Ningpo, the other unsuccessful port of trade, there are no less than thirteen Protestant missionaries, English and American. In this city, which was occupied by the British force for a whole winter during the war, and where the imperial troops were more than once defeated with unusual slaughter, it is remarkable that the people have been peculiarly well-disposed towards us. The population of the city, four hundred thousand in

number, affords a wide field for usefulness; but, besides this, it is the only one of the five ports, except Shanghae, where foreigners can visit or even reside in any part of the district, extending more than fifty miles to the south-west, and including large towns as well as villages.

The report states that Shanghae is at least equally favourable as regards local circumstances. A missionary observes,—"If China is ever to be opened, if the spirit of exclusiveness is ever to be effectually broken down, that process will begin here. The rays will diverge from Shanghae. Indeed, the process is now going on. Our London missionary brethren go excursions of three or four days' distance. They are going to attempt Soochow, the capital of the province. Parties can go to the hills and stay as long as they like, a distance of thirty or forty miles. Persons have visited the tea-district, still more inland, without molestation. All this at present is merely winked at by the authorities; by and bye we trust it will be legalized, and so gradually extended."

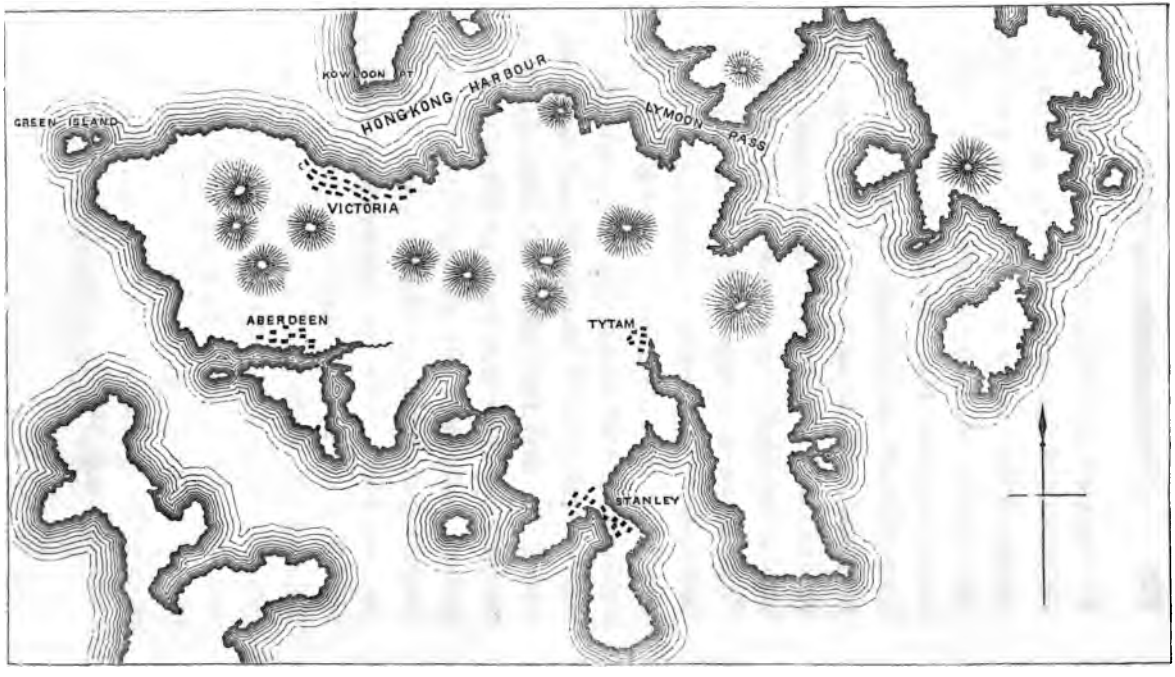
The same missionary makes a candid state-

ment of the difficulties to be encountered by himself and his coadjutors, under three different heads. "There is first the hardness, indifference, worldliness, atheism, of the Chinese mind. Sometimes, when listening to Mr. M'Clatchie preaching, I have looked round upon the hard, unmoved faces of his audience, and my soul has been well nigh carried away with unbelief and disgust. In the second place, there is the bad repute we are held in by the Chinese, in consequence of our supposed identity with the Romanists. It is difficult and mortifying to explain to a Chinese that even Christianity itself has a corrupt branch, which we repudiate. The idolatry and malpractices of the Romanists here have increased in no slight degree the difficulty of turning these heathen to the true God. In the third place, is that peculiarity of the Chinese language, by which it comes to pass, that after the labours and researches of Morrison, Milne, Thom, Gutzlaff, and Medhurst, and a host of others, we are yet in the very midst of a controversy as to the term by which we shall name* the God whom we wish to make known

* This is alluded to at p. 247.

to the Chinese! The cardinal word of our Christian nomenclature is yet a matter of controversy. I am not going to enter into the merits of the discussion, but only to speak of it under one aspect, namely, that of a great practical difficulty in the way of the extension of our holy religion. I am persuaded that the matter in England is not sufficiently regarded in this light. It is not thought, as it ought to be, that until this preliminary is settled, much, very much, preaching and labour go for nought. This is a startling assertion, nevertheless too true."

The inflictions of famine, as well as disease, afford to the European inhabitants opportunities of gaining the good-will of the people. In the early part of 1850 a severe dearth visited the country round Shanghae, and the foreign community raised a considerable sum of money, sufficient to relieve as many as a thousand per diem, the missionaries acting as almoners. The blind, a very numerous class in China, from the effects of small-pox and ophthalmia, have proved peculiarly susceptible of instruction. One of the missionaries reports twelve men and five women



ISLAND OF HONGKONG.

under instruction. "Two of the women lead in their blind husbands, and one her son. A fourth is herself blind and the fifth an infirm old Romanist, to whom we gave rice during the famine, and who has been our pensioner ever since. I think much good may be done among the blind. They seem more open to receive impressions of the truth than others; their affliction renders them thoughtful, and their willingness to be taught is remarkable."

Little or no mention is made of Canton and Amoy in the report; but Canton has been long the seat of a very active medical mission from America, of which Dr. Parker is the able conductor. The neighbourhood of Hong-kong to Canton makes the former a profitable field for missionary labours, and Amoy is (or was until very lately) occupied by several American clergymen.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDO-CHINESE NATIONS. — JAPAN.

No long period of time can now elapse before a railroad across the Isthmus of Suez will connect the Mediterranean and Indian seas on the *east;* and another railroad between Chagres and Panamà, now in progress, must very soon join the Atlantic and Pacific oceans on the *west.* When the entire circumference of our planet is thus open to steam and rail, and a girdle can be put round about the earth in little more than a hundred days, it will be hardly possible for such countries as Japan, Cochin-China, Corea, and Siam, notwithstanding their sullen system of seclusion, to remain long unopen to a busy, inquisitive, and progressive world. Already are hundreds of Chinese being transported from Hongkong to California; while some shipwrecked Japanese have been conveyed back from Mexico across the Pacific westward. In proportion as such strides bring us nearer to those

strange countries, in the same proportion do they become objects of interest, and therefore a summary of our latest knowledge of them may serve to close this work. The close vicinity of what have been called the *Indo-Chinese nations* to that larger country with which we have formed a new alliance, and their adoption (with the exception of Siam) of its written characters, give them a natural claim to be considered in connection with it.

JAPAN is without comparison the most important of these retired regions, and consists of three principal islands, equal in area to Great Britain and Ireland, and extending south-west and north-east between 30° and 42° of north latitude, east of China, from which circumstance it obtained its Chinese name of *Jĕ-pun*, "Source of Day," corrupted by us into Japan. The chief islands are Niphon, Kewsew, and Sikokf. Kæmpfer has been pleased to discover more than one resemblance between the Japanese and British islands, "being (as he says) much in the same manner, though in a more eminent degree, divided and broken by corners and forelands, arms of the sea, great bays and

inlets running deep into the country, and forming many islands, peninsulas, gulfs, and harbours besides. As the King of Great Britain is sovereign of three countries, England, Scotland, and Ireland, so the Japanese Emperor hath the supreme jurisdiction over three separate large islands." A similar kind of comparison was made by honest Fluellen long before. "There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; and there be salmons in both." The same author (Kæmpfer) adduces a curious argument in defence of the Japanese continuing to seclude themselves from the rest of the world, and maintains that the confusion of tongues at Babel is the best possible authority for nations remaining exclusive and unapproachable; but the reason is not much better than the practice.

The Japanese islands form a portion of that immense line of volcanic action * which extends from Kamtschatka through Japan, Loochoo, Formosa, and the Luçonian islands to Java, Sumatra, and the Malay archipelago. Nume-

* Lyell's Geology.

rous active volcanoes exist, with frequent and destructive earthquakes, which occasionally do much mischief. Adjoining to the department of Satsuma is an island covered with sulphur. Kæmpfer states that the Japanese did not venture there more than a hundred years before his time. "The island was thought to be wholly inaccessible, and by reason of the thick smoke which was observed continually to rise from it, and of the several spectres and other frightful apparitions which people fancied to see there chiefly by night, it was believed to be a dwelling-place of devils; but at last a resolute man obtained permission to go and examine it. He chose fifty bold fellows for this expedition; upon going on shore they found neither hell nor devils, but a large flat piece of ground at the top of the island (the crater originally), which was so strongly covered with sulphur that wherever they walked a thick smoke issued from under their feet. Ever since that time this island brings in to the prince of Satsuma about twenty chests of silver per annum."

As might be supposed of a country lying out in the ocean, between the latitudes of 30°

and about 42° north, the climate of Japan is excellent, and the country luxuriant and productive in the highest degree; far too good to be shut in from the rest of the world, notwithstanding Kæmpfer's argument derived from the Tower of Babel.

The government is very singularly constituted. Until the first century before the Christian era, there was a sole hereditary monarch called Daïri, laying claim to celestial origin. He was not only the temporal sovereign, but High Priest, or Pope. About B. C. 85, however, the generalissimo of the forces (Saigoun, in Chinese, Tseangkeun) compelled the reigning Daïri (or Mikaddo) to resign the chief executive power or regency to himself, leaving to the other the ecclesiastical function, with the supreme power of sanctioning laws. There are thus two chief rulers or sovereigns,—the Daïri, ecclesiastical and legislative, who resides at Miako; and the Saigoun (otherwise Kubo), military and executive, whose court is at Jedo. But, besides these, there are a great number of princes who exercise a species of feudal power, each in his own principality; and from the

top to the bottom of the whole system there is in force a perpetual round of mutual espionage — each being kept in order by the watchful jealousy of all the rest. This division of authority is a very formidable obstacle to any change in the foreign policy of the country, and is eminently calculated to perpetuate the exclusion of foreign nations from Japan, except by the application of irresistible force.

Their military skill and practice appear to be much on a par with those of the Chinese. Having had no external wars whatever, it is hardly possible that they should have acquired much knowledge of real warfare, and the nature of their defences betrays the most perfect ignorance of artillery. There is, therefore, little chance of their opposing an effectual resistance to any adequate attack from a powerful civilized nation of the present day.

It is strange that this nation, now so jealous and exclusive that it admits only two Dutch ships annually, under the most degrading restrictions, was at one period as liberal as any other in the world. The system is of comparatively modern date, and arose partly

from the misconduct of the Portuguese Jesuits and other orders of the Romish Church in Japan, about the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. Previously to that date, the government of the country allowed an unrestricted intercourse with foreigners. They even went so far as to send an embassy, consisting of seven persons, to Rome, which was present in the year 1585, at the coronation of Pope Sixtus V., and did not reach Japan again until after an absence of eight years — 1582 to 1590.

The subsequent troubles were mainly caused by the Portuguese priests. The machinations of the Dutch, who bore a peculiar hatred to the Spaniards and Portuguese, on account of the late subjection of their country to the tyranny of Philip II., led to all foreign nations, except the Hollanders, being excluded from Japan. The Dutch correctly represented that they were of another persuasion from that of Rome; but it has been said that their compliances in order to prove this, such as treading on the Cross, were more Pagan than Protestant. They continued, however, in exclusive possession of the trade at Nanga-

saki, and have held it for above two hundred years.

There was nothing within the range of possibility which the early Dutch adventurers were not willing to undertake for the advancement of their objects. Kæmpfer gives the following narrative :—"About 40,000 Christians, reduced to the most desperate condition by the many unparalleled cruelties and torments which many thousands of their brethren had already suffered, retired to Simabara, a fortified place, resolved to defend their lives to the utmost of their power. The Dutch upon this, as friends and allies of the Japanese, were required to assist in the siege of Simabara *, and the impending total destruction of the besieged Christians. M. Kockebecker, who was then director of the Dutch trade at Firando, having received orders to this effect, repaired thither without delay, on board a Dutch ship, and within a fortnight battered the town with 426 balls. This conduct was entirely to the satisfaction

* This is what the Chinese call "controlling barbarians by barbarians."

of the Japanese. So great was the covetousness of the Dutch, and so great the power of the Japanese gold, that rather than quit their prospect of trade they willingly underwent an almost perpetual imprisonment (for such, in fact, is their situation in Desima), and chose to suffer many hardships in a foreign country, to be remiss in performing divine service on Sundays and solemn festivals, to leave off praying and singing of psalms in public, entirely to avoid the sign of the Cross, the calling upon Christ in the presence of the natives, and lastly, patiently and submissively to bear the abusive and injurious behaviour of those proud infidels, than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a generous and noble mind.

"But," says Kæmpfer, "I proceed to a more particular description of the Dutch prison in Japan, for so I may deservedly call their habitation and factory at Nangasaki. The place where the Dutch live is called *Desima*, 'the island before the town.' It stands not far from the town, and has been raised from the bottom of the sea, which is here rocky and sandy, lying bare at low-water.

The foundation is freestone, and it rises about half a fathom above high-water mark. In shape it nearly resembles a fan without a handle, being of an oblong figure, the two longer sides of which are segments of a circle." This real prison is only 236 paces long, and 82 broad, and the Dutch seldom stir out of it. A small stone bridge joins it to the town, with a strong guard-house at the end.

It may be supposed that this practice of theirs, for some two hundred years, cannot have inspired the Japanese with much respect for Europeans. If anything could remove the degrading impression, it must have been the result of the British war with China, which the Japanese have been fully informed of, as indeed of every thing else that happens externally to their country, requiring the Dutch to supply the minutest accounts.

The English had a trade with Japan in the early part of the seventeenth century, with a regular commercial treaty, by which they were established at Firando. With the general prohibition of foreign trade they left the country, having latterly found the commerce

very unfavourable. The Russians have never succeeded in opening an intercourse; and Captain Golownin and his men, who were found on shore many years ago, experienced a long and cruel captivity. The Chinese themselves are treated with nearly the same jealousy and indignity as the Dutch, and their trade subjected to severe restrictions, between the ports of Nangasaki in Japan, and Chapoo in China.

The decisive measure against foreigners, and especially the Portuguese, was in 1637. Pride and rapacity, according to Kæmpfer, proved the ruin of the Portuguese interests, after they had reached a very high point of prosperity. They owed their expulsion to the detection of a plot, which, in connection with some native Christians, they had formed against the emperor. The result was an edict, proclaiming the most rigid system that could possibly have been adopted towards all the world. It was not only the *exclusion* of foreigners, but the *inclusion* of Japanese. "No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country. Those who act contrary to this

shall die, and the ship with the goods on board shall be sequestered. All Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a Christian priest shall have a reward of 400 to 500 shuets of silver (500*l.*), and for every Christian in proportion. All persons who propagate the doctrine of Christians, or bear this scandalous name, shall be imprisoned. The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao." The Portuguese of Macao still retain the use of the Japanese sedan, as represented in Kæmpfer; a sort of dog-kennel suspended from a pole.

The rigid enactment against natives of Japan quitting their country continues in unabated force, and extends even to those who have the misfortune to be blown away from the coast by stress of weather. A remarkable instance of this occurred in 1837, in the voyage of the American ship Morrison to Japan, for the express purpose of restoring seven shipwrecked natives of that country. A junk on its way from Owári, a place in Japan, to Jedo the capital, was, in 1831,

blown off the coast into the Pacific Ocean, and after drifting for many months, cast ashore near the Columbia river. A course of four years of varied adventures at length conducted the survivors of the crew to Macao, where they were taken care of by the English and Americans, and it was reasonably thought that to carry them back to their country would be a good reason for appearing at Japan. The Morrison was excellently equipped in every way for the purpose; but, unfortunately, her guns and armament were left behind, as a presumed recommendation to the confidence of the Japanese; and this very circumstance became the cause of her unceremonious expulsion and mal-treatment.

It was naturally thought that the benevolent character of the undertaking, the presence of a medical missionary on board, prepared to administer to the sick, and the pacific attitude of the vessel, would all conspire to gain at least a civil reception. But these hopes were more than disappointed. On reaching the bay of Jedo, the first care of the officers who visited them was to inspect the ship, and ascertain her strength, by rowing round and

peering in at the sides. When it was discovered that the Morrison was wholly unarmed, the greatest contempt and insolence were betrayed by these official visitors, and early the next morning the vessel was saluted by a discharge of guns from the shore close at hand. Ill as these were directed, the smallness of the distance, and the unarmed state of the ship, made it necessary to weigh the anchor with all speed; which was fortunately done without damage, and they quitted the inhospitable bay of Jedo.

Proceeding thence westward to the neighbourhood of Kagosima, the capital of the island of Kewsew, they anchored in the deep and spacious bay. The natives seemed very friendly as long as they were allowed to go to the ship, and negociations for the landing of the shipwrecked Japanese appeared at first to be making favourable progress; but after a period of uncertainty some ranges of striped canvas cloth were seen stretched along the shore. Their Japanese passengers in great dismay told them that these were military preparations, lines of this cloth repeated behind each other being used to deaden the

effect of shot, and to conceal the gunners. The anchor was again weighed, when the battery on shore opened on the ship, and as the Japanese on board seemed now hopeless of a reception in their country, if not certain of incurring great risk to themselves in farther attempts to land, the ship sailed back with them to Macao, having proved the hopelessness of any attempt to work on the good feelings of the government of Japan.

It can be no matter of surprise that every attempt made on the part of England to re-open an intercourse with this self-secluded country should have utterly failed. There is a succinct account of these attempts in the Chinese Repository.* After the abandonment of the port of Firando in 1623, no English visit to Japan occurred for nearly half a century. When the civil wars and commonwealth had been succeeded by the restoration of Charles II., a ship named the Return was sent by the East India Company in 1673, to prove what could be effected in a commercial way. On his arrival at Nangasaki,

* Vol. vii. p. 217.

the captain, to his surprise, was asked what religion he professed, and how long his sovereign had been married to a Portuguese princess? The connection was not a fortunate one in relation to Japan, where, as we have seen, the Portuguese had been for ever proscribed, together with the Romish religion; but the information could only have been obtained from the Dutch, with their determination of excluding all nations but themselves from the trade. It was demanded why so long a period had been allowed to elapse without a visit from an English ship, which was explained by the protracted continuance of civil commotion and foreign wars. After a number of conferences, chiefly concerning the Portuguese, and the difference between that nation and the English, it was announced on the part of the Saigoun, the lay or executive authority, that "no trade could be permitted with the subjects of a king who had married the daughter of the greatest enemy of Japan, and the English ship must therefore sail with the first fair wind." The captain of the Return was even denied permission to sell his cargo which he had brought so far, and

only allowed to pay for his supplies in merchandise. After three months' fruitless delay at Nangasaki, the Dutch gained their point by the dismissal of the ship.

After this unpromising experiment, there is no record of another English visit to Japan for about a century. The last expedition of Cook merely coasted the eastern side; but in 1791, the Argonaut, a merchantman employed in the fur trade with the north-west coast of America, made an attempt to trade. Her visit was directed to the western side of Japan, between that country and Corea, but with no better success than before. At the only port where the ship anchored, she was surrounded by lines of boats, and closely guarded from all intercourse with the people on shore; and after the usual gratuitous supply of wood and water, sailed away disappointed.

The next ship which touched at the Japanese islands was a naval surveying vessel, the Providence, commanded by Captain Broughton, who, in 1796, passed some time in observations and refitting on the coast of Yesso, north of Niphon. He was civilly

treated, — probably because he was well-armed, and supplied with refreshments; but his objects were not connected with any intercourse on shore. Seven years after, in 1803, the Frederick merchant ship was sent from Calcutta with a valuable cargo of goods, but her captain was refused admittance to the harbour, and required to leave the neighbourhood within twenty-four hours.

In 1808, during the constrained hostility between Great Britain and Holland, the Phaeton frigate was detached from Admiral Drury's squadron in the East to beat up the Dutch quarters at Nangasaki. An accidental collision took place on her being boarded in the harbour by some Japanese and two Dutchmen, the latter of whom were detained. Mr. Doeff, who was then president at Desima, describes the whole town of Nangasaki as thrown into frightful embarrassment and confusion. The governor especially was in a state of indescribable wrath, which fell on the Japanese officers who returned from the Phaeton without the Dutchmen. Everything was prepared for defence, and even for attack, if necessary; but it turned out, to the unfor-

tunate governor's consternation, that at the imperial guard-house, where a thousand men ought to be stationed, only sixty or seventy were forthcoming, and the commanders absent. After sundry desperate proposals, one of which was for the governor's secretary to board the Phaeton, and on the refusal of the Dutch prisoners to stab the captain, and then himself, it was resolved to detain the frigate until the forces and vessels in the neighbourhood could be collected for the attack. Mr. Doeff's narrative describes these military preparations as strongly indicative of a two centuries' want of practice; and certainly, if the Chinese have been found ignorant of war, it may be presumed that the Japanese are at least equally so, if not more. One of the proposals on this occasion was altogether Chinese. The governor was counselled, with 300 boats, each manned by three rowers, and fitted with straw and reeds, to burn the frigate, after which the men were to escape by swimming. He offered to lead the enterprise in person; but during this consultation, the two prisoners having been liberated, and Captain Pellew satisfied that there were no Dutch ships in

the harbour, the Phaeton weighed and sailed out with a fresh breeze. Her captain had merely executed his instructions, and could have little anticipated the tragical results to the unfortunate governor, who, with several of the officers of the neglected military post, conformed to the unrelenting code of Japanese etiquette, and ripped themselves open.

A nation which contemptuously excludes, or rather declares open hostility to all the world, can hardly claim for its harbours the international rights of neutrality; but be that as it may, the event was little calculated to forward British views regarding Japan. The war, however, which placed us in possession of Java in 1811, opened a new door to Nangasaki. Sir Stamford Raffles despatched two English ships to Japan in lieu of the two annual vessels which had been sent by the Hollanders, as it was fairly supposed that we might succeed to their trade with the possession of their colony. But Mr. Doeff, the Dutch resident, who had been imprisoned in the little island of Desima during three years of suspended intercourse, defeated every attempt, and pertinaciously maintained his foot-

ing until Java and its dependencies fell again into the possession of Holland in 1815.

In 1819, a small brig from Bengal, commanded by Captain Gordon, touched at the bay of Jedo on the way to Okotsk. So near to head-quarters there was, to a merchant ship, the least possible chance of opening any intercourse; but the captain remained for eight days at the entrance of the bay, and forwarded to the capital, through some officers who visited him, a request to be allowed to come next year. In the meanwhile the vessel was visited by hundreds of persons who showed great curiosity, and were willing enough to trade, if permitted. Eighty armed boats and some junks surrounded the English visitors, and when the reply was received from Jedo rejecting their request, thirty boats were sent to tow them out of the bay.

Captain Gordon's account of the desire of the Japanese in this port to trade is the most favourable of any. "The tow-boats had scarcely quitted us when some of the people approached, and at length accepted an invitation to come on board, which they did in such multitudes that the deck was thronged

to excess, and I was glad to see a guard-boat pull towards us for the purpose of dispersing the crowd. As soon as the people recognised the boat they fled in every direction, but many of them quickly returned; and, when we pointed out a guard-boat afterwards, some would merely laugh and say they did not care for them, while others would quit and give us to understand they were afraid of being destroyed. In the course of that and the following day there were not less than 2000 persons on board, all of them eager to barter for trifles."

The recent growth of the whaling trade in the Pacific has caused a much more frequent resort to the coasts of Japan, where the animal, from being so common, is occasionally caught by the people themselves. It appears that the American whalers have already come into collision with the Japanese government. The rising trade between California and Hongkong, from which latter place the Chinese proceed in crowds to the new Dorado, joined to the general increase of navigation and business in the Pacific, must end in either opening European intercourse with Japan, or

greatly increasing the pains of the government to prevent it. It is a circumstance in favour of the English and Americans that, in common with the Dutch, they do not profess the *Romish* religion, against which the jealousy and hostility of the Japanese has always been principally directed.

The results of the British war in China, were, like all other foreign intelligence, fully reported to the Japanese government, and, if they have increased its fears of foreign intercourse, must at least have inspired it with some degree of caution as to the treatment of foreigners. This seems to have been proved by the conduct of the authorities at Nangasaki to Captain Sir Edward Belcher, on his visiting that harbour in the Samarang during 1845. Before entering the port numerous guard-boats pushed off, and one of them running alongside delivered a letter, and returned immediately. The letter, written in Dutch as well as French, had evidently been prepared, the date only being filled in at the last moment. It contained instructions "to anchor off the entrance of the harbour in a convenient position until visited by the proper authorities."

This was done, the pilots and minor guard-boats evincing great anxiety that the Samarang should not proceed farther in.

The officers at length came off, and their conduct was extremely civil. They stated "that notice had long since reached them through the Dutch of the probability of this visit. That in 1843 they had letters from Pachungshan, relating all the movements of the Samarang among those islands. That they had recent letters from Loochoo describing the visit there, and that they knew the intentions to be good and well disposed." On the wish being expressed to make astronomical observations on a neighbouring island, great opposition was started, but permission at length gained to land at night to determine some point by the stars, and complete certain magnetic observations. They implored so earnestly, however, as a favour, that this might not be repeated before they heard from their superiors, that the request was readily acceded to.

They took down a list of every article required, promising that the whole should be immediately procured, and it was clearly un-

derstood that these should be paid for. They were anxious to prevent the immediate departure of the ship, and requested it might be delayed two days. On being informed that this should be extended to four if they consented to farther observations on the island, they seemed much disconcerted, and made it understood that they would certainly be punished. During the delay of taking in water the chief interpreter stated (while others were absent), that the Japanese would be very glad to see English ships at Nangasaki. They had an evident dislike to speak about the Dutch, but stated their vessel was in port.

During the whole stay of the Samarang, the hills and outlines of the villages were marked by the striped canvas batteries. The guns (of brass) were placed on level platforms, without parapet or protection of any kind, unless the striped cloth be so called. There being no parade of military, and but few individuals about the guns, the measure appeared to be merely precautionary.

It was remarked to the official people on board, that they had previously fired on an American vessel (the Morrison) and driven

her off the coast when she came to restore some shipwrecked Japanese. The reply was, "We never allow any one to return under such circumstances. We sent a junk-full back to the emperor of China, and he is our ally." Upon the day of intended departure, the chief mandarins, accompanied by a numerous suite of two-sworded attendants, came on board, bringing the articles required. The purser was directed to pay for them, but it was signified, through the chief interpreter, "If we dared to disobey the mandate of the emperor, our heads would answer the presumption. We must not even discuss such a matter."

It was particularly noticed that all the military mandarins, whose dress was neat and adapted to active service, distinctly avoided every invitation to visit the ship. They would come alongside and pull round, bow and return salutations, but nothing more. The interpreter stated they were from another country, and did not understand the language; but it was believed that the civil power on board took precedence, and had excluded them out of policy.

The chief mandarin begged that the anchor

might not be weighed before dawn; that he would come at two in the morning according to custom, and remain until daylight. But about midnight heavy rains came on, and continued until six in the morning, when the Samarang quitted her anchorage. In all the transactions with these people, Sir Edward Belcher had reason to be pleased with their good manners, gentleness, and urbanity. Whenever a question was asked relative to the interior, or with reference to any object of natural history, the answer was, "Wait until you come back, when we may have orders from the emperor to admit you." It may fairly be suspected that this was a mere postponement to the Greek kalends.

In the same year, 1845, three Japanese were taken to Ningpo by the American frigate, St. Louis, after having been, strange to say, blown or drifted over in a junk across the Pacific, from the coast of Japan all the way to Mexico, where they remained two years. After this, there can be little difficulty in accounting for the original peopling of America from Asia. The Chinese authorities were ready to return these men to their country by

the annual junks; but one of them objected, on the ground of personal fear of the consequences to himself; and from what has already appeared he had good reason for his apprehensions.

An attempt was made by the government of the United States to open negociations with Japan in 1846. The Columbus, ninety-gun ship, Commodore Biddle, attended by the Vincennes frigate, arrived at the entrance of the bay of Jedo on the 20th of July. The ships were soon after their arrival surrounded by about four hundred guard-boats, containing from five to fifteen and twenty men each. The boats were not rowed, but worked by a scull, and the people on board generally unarmed, except a few of the principal ones. The general appearance was that of private boats pressed for the occasion. A man went on board the Vincennes, and placed a stick with some symbol on it at the head of the ship, and another abaft; but, as this proceeding seemed to savour rather too much of taking possession, they were ordered to be displaced, and no objection made.

The Japanese in this respect resemble their

Chinese neighbours. They go as far as they dare, until a check occurs. Thus they tried at first to prevent communication between the Columbus and Vincennes, and the triple line of boats made no attempt to move; but, on the seamen being ordered to cut the connecting ropes, no opposition was made. The interpretation was carried on by a Japanese, who understood Dutch perfectly. The mandarins were very civil and well-conducted, and when out of sight of their followers, sociably and even jovially inclined, making exchanges of small gifts, as fans, &c. The people are stated to be better looking than the Chinese. Only a few of the Japanese wore two swords, a long and short one, of which the first was double-handed. These were evidently the principal ornaments, as well as marks of rank.

Although the ships remained ten days at anchor, no person went on shore. A reference being in the meanwhile made to the emperor, the written reply arrived in about seven days, stating that "no trade could be allowed with any foreign nation except Holland." On the departure of the Columbus and Vincennes, they were towed out by the whole fleet of

boats, which moved by signals among themselves. No better success attended the visit of the French ship Cléopâtre, Admiral Cécille, to Nangasaki in the same year. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to do otherwise than subscribe to the opinion of a correspondent at Paris: — "Je ne crois pas que le moment soit encore venu de fonder beaucoup d'espérances sur le commerce de cette partie du monde. Il y aura bien des ventres ouverts, et bien des suicides officiels, avant que les pavillons Européens puissent flotter librement à Jédo ou à Nangasaki."

Yet the inevitable collisions which will arise with the increased frequentation of the Japanese seas, can scarcely fail to raise questions which must be solved either by negociation, or, failing that, by the *ultima ratio;* and the Japanese have already shown some disposition to avert the latter. A case occurred in 1849, of several American seamen, wrecked or put ashore from a whaling ship. The China mail records "the return of the U. S. ship Preble, from Japan, whither she had been despatched by Commodore Geisinger, to take away some men belonging to the American

whaler Lagoda." On the approach of the Preble, she was warned away with a terrible display of striped-cloth batteries. A paper affixed to a bamboo, and containing certain directions in English, was tendered, but immediately ordered over the side; and the Preble continued her course, notwithstanding some stout attempts to push her back with hands and feet. An interpreter soon appeared, with directions that the ship should stop and anchor at a particular place; but the captain, unfolding a chart, showed where he intended to anchor. Some common-looking people having been sent on board, he refused to confer with them; and when more befitting functionaries had learned from him the object of the visit, some delays were urged on account of the necessity of referring the matter to the emperor. But the captain limited a time, beyond which he could not defer obtaining farther instructions from his commodore; upon which all the seamen were shortly afterwards sent on board. The Japanese offered to supply the wants of the ship, but this was declined unless they would receive payment.

Experience has proved that such is the only

way of dealing with a people who, with some local differences, are quite Chinese, or something worse. The ship Morrison went to Japan unarmed, as a measure of conciliation. The consequence was, her being amused with pretended negociations until guns had been procured to take the vessel by surprise and destroy her at anchor. There is scarcely any limit to the consequences of implicit submission. Kæmpfer, as an eye witness, supplies this description of the reception given to the principal Dutchman — the price at which the Hollanders bought their miserable privileges : — "He crawled on his hands and knees to a spot shown him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the emperor sat on the other; and thus, kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backwards like a crab, without uttering one single word."

It is a pity that the civilized world should not be better represented at the court of Jedo; but what has been bought so dear, is likely to be guarded with avidity, and Dutch influence must be expected to operate against any improvements. The last English visit to Japan

was as late as May, 1849, when the Mariner sloop of war, Commander Matheson, anchored off the town of Oragawa, twenty-five miles from Jedo.* On their approach some mandarins came off and presented a paper in French and Dutch, desiring that the ship might not anchor or cruise about the bay, but remain at sea. On this being declined, they offered their boats to tow the ship to her anchorage when the wind fell light. Oragawa appears to be the key of the capital Jedo, the whole trade of which touches there at the custom-house, and, with a moderate force, could be completely stopped. The mandarins behaved civilly, and were anxious to gain every information, but gave none in return.

Should the necessity of negociation ever become unavoidable, it has appeared from experience that this should be on a scale which would obviate any chance of insult. Much depends on the commencement, and therefore it seems highly impolitic to permit lines of guard-boats to be placed round the ships.

* Journal of Royal Geographical Society, vol. xx. p. 136.

From the treatment of British and other vessels of war during the last few years, the Japanese have shown an evident desire to stave off extremities, and are probably more amenable to reason. Still the difficulties are not trifling, and it would be far better not to attempt anything than to fail, as others have done, if it were only for the influence in China.

But should circumstances alter, and the Saigoun or Kubo, head of the executive government at Jedo, find it necessary to relax in the old restrictions, the strange constitution of the country would have to be considered. Anything like a treaty might be invalid unless it bore the seal of the Daïri at Miako, as well as the Kubo; and this, besides, must guarantee the adhesion of all the minor princes, without which it might be mere waste paper. The land is divided into innumerable principalities, each with its seignorial rights. In the sixteenth century, each of the smaller potentates bordering on the sea appears to have vied with his neighbours in attracting the greatest amount of foreign intercourse.

A treaty once concluded with Japan would

certainly not be observed with worse faith than in China; for the Japanese are, at least, as straightforward as their neighbours, if not more so. A knowledge of the Chinese language would always be of use, for the documents of the government are in that character, though with considerable variations, and with a very different style. Many of the inscriptions in Kæmpfer's plates are quite intelligible, with all the disadvantages of the foreign imitation more than a hundred years ago. But, when the mandarins address themselves to the people, they use a mongrel language, in the Katakana and Hirakana syllabary, interspersed with Chinese phrases.

Some of the interpreters attached to our consulates in China have undertaken the study of the Japanese language; and there will be teachers enough if Japan foolishly persists in excluding all her subjects who have been driven from the country by accident or necessity. Nothing could more completely defeat its own purpose than this sullen policy, for it supplies means and appliances against itself. With pure Chinese and Japanese, and the addition of Dutch or even English trans-

lations, it would be most important to avoid the assistance of their official interpreters, — a class objectionable on every account, and if admitted into negociation capable of defeating every object. Many of the expatriated Japanese have learned English, and could be employed in a foreign dress.

Considering Japan as one of the most advanced nations of Asia, with a territory and lines of coast equal to those of the British islands, it would no doubt be important to open such a mart for our capital and enterprise. Supposing anything should occur to induce Japan to alter its present policy of entire exclusion, a treaty, modelled on that of Nanking, with such modifications as past experience or local differences might suggest, would answer every legitimate object. With the perfect knowledge that the Japanese possess of all external matters, it is not likely that they would go beyond what has been done by China. To do even this, the first step constitutes the great difficulty.

CHAPTER IX.

INDO-CHINESE NATIONS. — COCHIN-CHINA OR ANNAM. — SIAM. — COREA AND LOOCHOO.

THE French had, until very lately, an exclusive footing in the kingdom of Annám, or Cochin-China *, but an occurrence of a very tragical character, in the year 1847, must have altogether extinguished, or at least seriously impaired it.

In 1845, the French representative in China had addressed the king of Annám, demanding the enlargement of a Romish bishop, who was a native of France, and by name Le Fêvre. His majesty was at the same time exhorted to grant entire freedom of worship to such of his subjects as had embraced Christianity, citing, for his example, the immunities lately accorded in China by the emperor. This letter was delivered in Touron bay by the French

* It might be as well if the latter unmeaning designation, (the authority for which is very obscure,) were abandoned, and the true name, Annám, adopted.

corvette L'Alcmène; but, though the bishop was released, or at least reported to be so, no answer was returned.

In 1847, Commodore La Pierre appeared in Touron bay, with the ships La Gloire and La Victorieuse, to request some reply to the previous communication. As evasion was the only course adopted, the French took possession of the sails of five Cochin-Chinese vessels, rigged in the European manner, as security against their escape. On the following day the chief authority on shore consented to receive a letter from the commodore, and to obtain an answer from the capital in ten or twelve days. But when the letter arrived, a discussion arose as to forms. The mandarin declined to bring it on board, and M. La Pierre refused to attend an entertainment on shore to receive it.

During the suspense arising from this, some of the French officers on shore encountered an old man, who made alarming signs, and who, being unintelligible by speech, wrote down a few characters on a bit of paper offered to him for the purpose. The meaning of these proved to be a caution against the intentions of the mandarins, who were pre-

pared to make a treacherous attack on the commodore and his officers during the proposed entertainment.

On the following day, perceiving military preparations in progress, and that they were sending guns and ammunition on board the five vessels before-mentioned, a boat was despatched to intercept these supplies; and in one of the intercepted boats was discovered the plan of a conspiracy for surprising the French, and destroying them and their ships. The commodore caused an authentic copy to be made of this paper, and sent it to the mandarin on shore, demanding an explanation. The foolish mandarin merely observed that he would take care to punish the parties by whose imprudence the French became possessed of the letter.

The commodore upon this took the initiative, and opened a fire on the Cochin-Chinese defences. This was returned in a spirited manner; but in the course of an hour, out of the five Annámese ships, one was sunk, one burned, and another blown up, while the two remaining hoisted a flag of truce. The French went on board, took the wounded to their own ships, and after dressing their hurts sent

them on shore. The two empty ships were then burned.

According to the accounts of the wounded, there were above 1300 men on board the Annàmese frigates, of whom only those taken to the French ships survived, none being allowed, or indeed able, to retreat. Only one Frenchman was killed, and one wounded, which is a sufficient commentary on the disparity of naval power. M. La Pierre left an inscription in a temple on shore, in remembrance of "the respect and submission of the barbarians who were to have been exterminated," and the French ships quitted Touron bay, where the ancient alliance can hardly be renewed very readily.

The subsequent fate of those two fine vessels, La Gloire and La Victorieuse, was a melancholy one. While sailing together with a strong wind off the coast of Corea, in August, 1847, they both struck on a sand-bank at high-water, and on the retreat of the tide were left nearly dry. When the tide returned, the sea broke over them, and left both the ships total wrecks. Provisions, arms, and ammunition were saved for 560 men and officers,

and on the third day the crews abandoned the wrecks, finding fresh water on a neighbouring island, where they established themselves. The Coreans entered into communication with them, but betrayed great timidity. The news of the disaster fortunately reached Shanghae, whence H.M.'s ship Dædalus, accompanied by the Childers and Espiègle sloops of war, hastened to the relief of the French, and brought them safe to Hongkong. The greatest harmony prevailed among the gallant crews of the two flags, and the French officers and men volunteered to share with our's the night and day watches on board the British ships. In those distant and barbarous regions, the slight distinctions of European nationality become almost obliterated.

But to return to Cochin-China. The *Revue des deux Mondes* thus alludes to the unfortunate rencontre in Touron bay, and to French interests in that quarter. "Il y aurait profit pour nous à reparaître dans la baie de Tourane, non plus pour y couler les innocentes (?) jonques de l'empereur d'Annam, et effrayer au bruit de nos canons les paisibles échos des montagnes de marbre, mais pour y renouer, s'il en est temps encore,

les anciennes relations que la France, au commencement de ce siècle, s'était habilement créées à la cour du pieux Gya-long. Là, où les Anglais et les Americains ont maintes fois échoué, nous avions réussi ; nous avions introduit nos produits et nos navires. . . . En un mot, il s'est établi en Cochin-Chine une sorte de tradition française qu'il vaudrait mieux entretenir par de bienveillans procédés que par la force des armes. Sur ce point l'Angleterre ne nous a pas devancés ; profitons de cette bonne fortune : veillons au moins à ce que nulle nation Européenne ne s'empare, à notre préjudice et par notre faute, de l'influence politique et commerciale dans un pays qui, tôt ou tard, sera envahi, comme le Céleste empire, per les intérêts de l'Occident."

The intercourse above alluded to had been rather religious than commercial. Numbers of French priests had laboured in the work of conversion, and some had met with the crown of martyrdom ; but of commerce it would be difficult to prove any amount worth consideration. The wars of Tunkin, Cochin-China, and Cambodia, expelled trade from these shores, and a restrictive system of the worst

description has prevented its growth; nor does it appear that a single European vessel now enters the harbours. The king himself, indeed, who monopolizes every thing, has adopted European-built ships, and sends them to Sincapore and other places, laden with sugar and cinnamon, on his own account. Besides the sole monopoly of trade, a considerable part of every subject's time and labour is the property of the king, who employs them at his pleasure for his sole advantage. It may be imagined what sort of a trade is to be expected with a country so long as such a system prevails; and as for their manufactures, the Chinese, in many instances, purchase their raw produce, and bring it back to them worked up.

As the Annàmese are geographically intermediate between the Chinese and Malays, so they appear to be both physically and morally. They wear, like the Malays, a cloth or turban round the head, and their full-dress is the ancient costume of China; but in undress, shoes and stockings seem to be deemed superfluous. With a government which is the worst species of despotism, and

the king himself chief monopolist of industry and trade, little can be expected from them until circumstances change. Should a foreign trade at any future time grow up, there are some good harbours along the coast. The principal are,—1. Saigun in Cambodia, lat. 10° 50′, the capital of the south, about fifty miles from the sea, with a river navigable for large ships to the town. On another branch of the river is Loknoi, frequented by the Chinese. 2. Yatrāng, in lat. 12° 6′, with a river conducting to the town. 3. Fu-yin, or Phu-yen, reported the finest port in Cochin-China, four short days' journey by land from Huè, the capital. 4. The well-known bay of Touron or Touran, with a bold coast and heavy swell from the eastward, but the harbour spacious and secure. 5. Huè, the capital, is approached by a river, four hundred yards across at the mouth, and with only twelve feet water on the bar at spring tides, a heavy surf rolling in; which are all against it as a port. 6. Cachao, or Bak-khin, the capital of Tonquin.

Being desirous to observe the actual effect produced by the late operations of the French

ships, La Gloire and La Victorieuse, and being furnished with full powers to be used at my own discretion, I took advantage of an interval of leisure in October, 1847, to request of the naval commander-in-chief, Rear Admiral Inglefield, the means of visiting Cochin-China. His excellency accordingly selected the Vulture steam-frigate, Captain M'Dougall, and Ringdove sloop of war, Commander Clifford, for this service. The period was the proper one for going down the China sea, though it turned out that a worse could not have been fallen upon for Cochin-China itself, where it was just the rainy and stormy season: but there was no other time available.

On the 9th of October the Vulture was within the easy entrance of the bay of Touron, which is about four miles broad, between the peninsula of T'hien cha on the left, and the high land of Collao Han on the right. On the latter point is uselessly erected a battery, which can be avoided out of range. A great commotion was evidently excited by the arrival of the ships, as appeared from the signals made from the tops of the hills in the Chinese manner, by means of fire and smoke.

The greatest distrust was at first evinced, and nobody would come on board; but they seemed relieved on finding we were English and not French. A battery had been raised on the height of the peninsula which forms the harbour, apparently of good construction, and some farther works were in progress lower down the hill. The small island, called by the French *l'isle de l'observation*, was also being fortified, and the east shore of the harbour as well.

On the day subsequent to our arrival, an inferior officer ventured on board to make inquiries. He stated that information had been at once conveyed to Huè of our arrival, and an answer might be expected in two days; but protested that he dared not take charge of a letter addressed to the minister without orders. The letter was therefore conveyed on shore, and delivered to a person whose official character was denoted by his litter and umbrella. Meanwhile the rain commenced, and continued with the violence known only in tropical regions, and for a day or two, communications became almost impracticable. Dr. Gutzlaff at length went

wore black crape turbans. Instead of discussing business, it appeared to be their desire to make this a mere visit of ceremony, and to postpone negociation until to-morrow, when it was arranged to return their civility on shore.

Accordingly on the 17th I proceeded with Capts. M'Dougall and Clifford and a party of twenty marines to the landing place, where we found the two commissioners in their full dresses of ceremony, the ancient costume of China previous to the Tartar conquest, and now in that country retained only on the stage. A very proper mark of respect was paid to Her Majesty's Commission (my credentials), for which they had brought a gilt and ornamented litter or sedan. On walking with the two functionaries to the hall of reception, between long lines of soldiers armed with spears, I found a Cochin-Chinese entertainment prepared, after which preliminary we entered on business. It appeared that they wished to send the Commission, (which they took for a letter,) up to the capital, and this led to a lengthened discussion, in which it was necessary to explain that, being in fact my credentials, the Com-

mission could not possibly be parted with, but must always accompany myself. It very soon appeared that there could be no effectual negotiation except at the capital, and with persons nearer to the king than these two commissioners.

They however represented that, this being the rainy season, the journey, a distance of fifty miles, would be attended with much difficulty; but the answer was, that for the sake of paying my respects to their king, and establishing more intimate relations between the two countries, I disregarded all difficulties and inconveniences. They attempted to quote the precedent of a letter sent by the governor-general of India, by the Phlegethon steamer, in 1845*; but I pointed out the difference between a letter from India, intended merely to be delivered at Touron, and the Queen's commission, authorizing negociations at the capital. They appeared to comprehend this at last, and agreed to refer to Huè for the king's leave for me to proceed thither; only

* To acknowledge the assistance and protection afforded to two merchant ships.

The circular floor is seventy feet in diameter and has been paved. Several idols and shrines of Buddha adorned the inside, and the whole was approached by an arched gallery, with descending stairs at intervals. It unfortunately blew and rained with violence, and we were glad of the shelter afforded by the caverns where, it afterwards turned out, we had better have stayed, for on returning to our boats the storm began to ripen into a hurricane, and the progress down the river was not easy. Half-way we were met by two covered gallies, despatched to our assistance by the two commissioners, and we gladly availed ourselves of their shelter.

On reaching the residence of the commissioners, it was clear that one of those formidable typhoons, for which this neighbourhood is famous, had commenced, and our Annàmese friends not only requested us to remain, but provided a repast and every accommodation in their power for the night. Some anxiety was felt for the ships, as the typhoon raged with unabated fury, and towards four o'clock blew away the whole front of our lodging, which was a temporary structure of

bamboo and mats, the back portion only being solid. Early in the morning our hosts prepared another entertainment for us; but as it was just possible to reach the sheltered anchorage of the ships after the lull of the tempest, we were glad to row on board. The ships had ridden out a very violent hurricane in safety.

On the 25th the interpreter of the commissioners arrived, and announced their intended visit at one o'clock. Their previous proceedings had led us to be very far from sanguine as to an invitation to the capital. In addition to the old argument, founded on the inundated state of the country, these creatures of precedent urged that there had been found no instance on record of a foreign envoy being received by the king. This may possibly have arisen from the fear of exciting the jealousy of their more powerful neighbours, the Chinese. Their former remark was repeated, that the letter from the governor-general, in 1845, had been received here and forwarded to the capital; to which there was the same answer, that my commission was a document not to be transmitted, but presented in person.

The commissioners farther proceeded to state, that some presents had been forwarded by the king, and requested that I would send on shore for them. The strictly correct course for the commissioners was to send these public presents on board; though this point of punctilio might have been waived, had it not occurred to me that a grand discussion had once before arisen as to the reception of presents on their side for the king himself, which had ended in no exchange taking place. It therefore became necessary to demur, and to state the only condition on which public presents could be received — that of perfect reciprocity and mutual exchange. The truth then came out, that they were not allowed to receive any presents for the king himself, and this at once settled the whole question; for nothing is so necessary with these semi-civilized people as to disabuse them of all their assumptions. The mandarins showed much anxiety to deliver their charge to us, and therefore their instructions to receive none in return must have been sufficiently strict.

We parted, however, on very good terms, after the exchange of many mutual civilities,

and it is to be hoped that the courtesy and moderation shown on both sides may have a good effect. Without being able to judge of the actual state of the country, the incessant and inundating rains had at least furnished a plausible pretext for our not going by land to Hué, which is on a shallow river, impracticable either to the Vulture frigate or the sloop of war. The most advisable course would be to make the coast in the month of April, when it is not a lee shore, and go straight up the river to the capital in an iron steamer, which need not draw more than six feet water.

It may be remarked that the king of Annám benefited by our war with China both commercially and politically. While the contest was pending the old sovereign Ming-ming, noted for his dislike to Europeans, died, and his successor saw, with the conclusion of our treaty, new avenues opened to his trade. Instead of being confined to Canton and Amoy as before, his vessels may now proceed to the other three ports. Since the war, besides, China has adopted a conciliatory system towards Annám. The King has been exempted from sending tribute, coupled, it may be, with

the condition that he shall exclude European intercourse.

SIAM. — China has been always respected by Siam on account of its extent and reputed power, and an annual tribute-bearer went to Canton, with certain privileges and exemptions for his junk or ship. The Siamese do not use the Chinese character, having one of their own; but a very respectful memorial in Chinese appeared at Hongkong in 1844 from the *tribute bearer* to Canton, conveyed in a crimson silk bag or envelope, applying for the delivery of a junk then in the harbour, stated to have been cut by pirates out of one of the Siamese ports. The parties were ordered to be apprehended and subjected to strict examination by the magistrates at Victoria; but, as there was no evidence against them to warrant so serious a measure as their extradition, they were liberated.

Besides a lucrative trade with China, Siam derives great benefit from its industrious Chinese colonists. Under these circumstances, the ruler of that country could not view our war with indifference, or look on the treaty as an unimportant event. With some increased

dread of British power at Bangkok, there were at the same time essential advantages even for Siam. The freedom secured to other foreign nations extended likewise to the junks of that country. They had hitherto been considered as mere interlopers, liable to extortion, but they were now admitted as traders who might visit the five ports with very moderate charges. The consequence was an extension of commerce, more certainty in the result of mercantile enterprise, and the safe employment of a larger amount of capital. If now convinced, therefore, of the power of Great Britain, the Siamese must acknowledge that it has been used to remove the shackles which fettered their own trade with China.

A treaty was concluded in 1827 between the East India Company and Siam, while Lord Amherst was Governor-general, together with a commercial agreement of the same date. As these were considered sufficient for the maintenance of friendship and trade with that country, it was not for some years deemed advisable to attempt any farther negociation on the part of the crown. At length, in 1850, Sir James Brooke was commissioned

by Her Majesty's government to attempt negociation at Bangkok, which, however, like a previous essay on the part of the United States, did not prove altogether successful. The old king, upwards of sixty years of age, appeared willing to imitate the exclusive policy of Japan and Annám, by shutting himself in from direct foreign intercourse. It is understood that a renewed attempt will soon be made.

Corea. — Without excepting Japan, there is no country less known to the rest of the world than Corea. Of its political relation with the celestial empire we can only judge from Chinese books, and from occasional notices in what is called the Peking Gazette. The submission to China is more complete than that of any other tributary country. The king is regularly installed by an imperial commissioner; he cannot even marry without an express sanction from Peking, nor undertake any thing of great importance without the approbation of the emperor. Yet this country, so secluded from the rest of the world, is equal in area to the British Islands.

Corea is obliged to send tribute bearers very frequently to Peking, to do homage to

the son of heaven, and receive his behests. But, notwithstanding this, the country is governed entirely by its own officers, and intercourse between it and China absolutely prohibited. No junks from China cross the Yellow Sea to visit its numerous islands and harbours, and the only trade is carried on at the Manchow frontier town, Foong-hwang. Hence the excessive alarm and jealousy displayed on the visit of the Alceste and Lyra, in 1816, and on other occasions. Not being allowed to visit any foreign country, the small vessels of Corea are miserably constructed, and, if driven by stress of weather from their own coast, generally lost. This country has not benefited, like others, by the new trading regulations which resulted from our war, being prohibited from all foreign intercourse, even with the coast of China. Corea thus remains isolated, with a government and people who must have been, we may suppose, almost brutalised by ignorance during an imprisonment within their own borders of more than two hundred years.

It may partly be the consequence of this that the annual tribute bearers from Corea at

Peking have always shown a desire to improve that rare opportunity to becoming acquainted with the few Europeans who, until lately, used to reside there, and expressed unqualified admiration of all they saw and examined. Some youths who reached Macao, after having been driven off their own coast, showed great inquisitiveness, a quality not often found among the Chinese, and acquired many things which might have been deemed beyond their capacity.

A correct survey of Corea was not included in the general map of China constructed by the Jesuits, a survey so admirable when viewed in connection with the means of accuracy possessed more than a century ago. The Corean coast is still a perfect terra incognita, and we have seen that two fine French ships of war were lost there as late as 1847.* It was visited by Capt. Sir Edward Belcher, in 1845, when he was received with great civility. The first station for observations was the island of Quelpaert, and there the authorities gave him permission to pursue his survey, instructing the people not to touch the marks, but afford

* Page 299.

every assistance in their power. No trading vessels were met with, for the reasons already stated, and the only industrial pursuit was that of fishermen, who, at their largest towns, appeared very poor. Corea, therefore, may be considered as the least attractive of any of the Indo-Chinese nations.

It was in the same year that Sir Edward Belcher visited LOO-CHOO, where the Samarang and her crew were received very kindly, and assured of every facility in carrying on the surveys. They took that island on their way to Corea and Japan, and returned to it in the voyage back. The reception was as civil and much more unreserved than that of Basil Hall in 1816, since which time we have certainly made some progress in these distant parts. Horses were provided for an excursion into the interior, and the party ascended the highest peak in the neighbourhood, commanding a view of both seas. An entertainment was prepared by the chief mandarins in the Chinese style, and little packages of presents placed by each guest with a red paper list, which were afterwards transferred by the attendants to the ship.

The guests were surprised by the question "If they would walk through the town?" which they did, accompanied by their friends. It is in this slow and almost imperceptible manner, that we must overcome the fears and jealousies at the farthest extremity of Asia.

Loo-choo, being situate midway between China and Japan, and connected with the latter by a string of islands, is thus subjected to and claimed by two different masters, neither of whom acknowledges the supremacy of the other. Hence must arise the timidity and caution of the islanders, so remarkable in all their transactions.

In 1846, the French squadron under Admiral Cécille lay at Loo-choo for some weeks, and in the month of October, the Agincourt, British flag ship, paid a visit there. The Chinese minister addressed me a note soon afterwards, in which he complained of this visit, and added that a medical missionary, named Bettelheim, claiming our protection, had fixed himself at Loo-choo and could not be induced to move. It became necessary to state, in reply, that not only English, but

many other foreign vessels had been lately at Loo-choo, where the intercourse was most friendly; that the missionary Bettelheim appeared to be actuated by the most benevolent views, and as long as his conduct was inoffensive it would be impossible for any British authority to interfere with him; that with regard to Loo-choo, no remonstrances had been received from Japan, which exercised a most despotic sovereignty over it, even to disarming the inhabitants, Loo-choo being more intimately connected with that country than with China; that, finally, as regarded H. M.'s ships, it had been long decided that they had an indisputable right to proceed to any port, even of China itself, to which their friendly objects and intentions might lead them.*

In 1846, H. M.'s consul at Foochow obtained some curious particulars respecting the annual visit of the Loo-choo junks to that city. It is, in fact, a trading adventure under the guise of tribute; the tribute not being one-hundreth part of the amount invested in the trade which is permitted

* Page 87.

under that cover. In short, the Chinese government derives no real benefit from these demonstrations, but, on the contrary, finds the annual junks rather expensive visitors, their imports and exports being duty free.

The articles which the Loo-choo merchants import are chiefly confined to the expensive delicacies of marine production consumed by the Chinese, together with specie, both gold and silver. The gold is not of superior quality, being only seventy-eight *touch* (or per centage) of fineness. It is well known that nearly the whole of this comes originally from Japan, for the thirty-six islands constituting the Loo-chooan group are very poor and insignificant in extent, and, besides being tributary to China, are much more dependent on Japan. The Japanese, too proud to do it openly, lest they also might be called tribute bearers, avail themselves of the visits of the Loo-chooans to keep up a trade with China; while a limited number of Chinese junks are permitted annually to visit Japan from the port of Chapoo.

The list of exports presents, as might be expected, a more numerous catalogue than

the imports, consisting of manufactures both silk and cotton, raw cotton, writing materials, tea, sugar, sweetmeats, crockery, vermillion, quicksilver, &c. They have lately shewn a liking for European manufactures, and in 1844, according to the statement of a Chinese merchant, who acted as their broker, took away as much as 20,000 dollars worth of British long cloth, the largest purchase they had yet made.

They have a factory at Foochow, which at once constitutes the residence of the envoy sent with the tribute; and the place in which they transact their business. The detail of their trade is managed by linguists; but they can deal with any Chinese merchant they choose; confining themselves, however, to five or six, with whom they are well acquainted.

The junks come at the end of the year with the north-east monsoon, and return in April or May with the prevailing south-west wind. Tribute, however, is sent only every other year, and persons are appointed to accompany it to Peking. It consists of a little sulphur, Japan copper and pewter, to the value of

about 3000 dollars. The envoy reports himself on his arrival, and interviews are then held with the chief officers of government, who entertain him. Arrangements are next made for the journey to the capital, and a civil and military mandarin of subordinate rank are appointed to escort the mission, which is conducted without delay, in order that the envoy may not fail to pay his court on New Year's day (in February)—an imperative engagement. He is accompanied by a deputy, empowered to act in case of the illness or demise of the chief, and a small train of eight or ten persons.

The envoy, in relation to Chinese mandarins, is considered to be of the fifth rank. The Peking government used to consider European embassies in precisely the same light as those from Loo-choo, and wished to treat them in the same manner. The Loo-chooan minister evinces no great haste to return, and six or eight months often intervene before he re-enters Foochow. The journey is purposely prolonged, in order to allow the junks which brought him and the tribute to have returned

to Foochow.* They then plead that they cannot return against the north-east monsoon, and finally the envoy does not take his leave until the most favourable season, thereby affording his countrymen time to transact a two years' business on the plea of one year's tribute; for no junks are allowed to come over expressly for the purpose of trading.

In a tribute year two large junks arrive, with one of a smaller class, which is considered more as an attendant vessel, but which contrives to make her visit tell to a better purpose. The junks which come in the intervening year to receive the envoy are limited to one large junk and the usual small attendant vessel. But nearly the same amount of trade is transacted every year; for though on every other visit there comes one junk less, they make up for the loss of stowage by sending a greater proportion of the more costly articles. Sometimes extraordinary gales or

* The British Embassy, in 1816, was four months traversing the distance between Peking and Canton, at an average rate of ten miles a day. There might have been an absurd motive in this to increase the apparent distance.

typhoons drive Loo-chooan junks into Foo-chow; and on other occasions some are expressly sent over with Chinese subjects shipwrecked on their coast, when they seldom enter or return empty.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE following already published answer from the Foreign Office, in reply to certain representations made against the armed visit to Canton, in 1847, is appended as an admirable summary of the origin and motives of that measure, which had been entirely misunderstood.

"I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, containing a representation on behalf of the East India and China Association of Liverpool, of which you are the chairman, respecting the late events at Canton.

"Lord Palmerston directs me to state to you, in reply, that he is sorry to say he is obliged to differ from almost all the opinions which you express in your letter on behalf of the association.

"With regard, indeed, to the course which Sir John Davis has pursued for the three years preceding the late transactions, Lord Palmerston considers that he is not called upon

to express an opinion one way or the other. That course, whatever it may have been, was prescribed to him by his instructions from the Home government; and Lord Palmerston must take it for granted that he may infer from Sir John Davis having continued in office, that he executed his instructions to the satisfaction of those who were at that time the responsible advisers of the Crown; and if the East India and China Association disapproved of that course, it would have been more practically useful for them to have stated their objections to it at the time, and to the proper quarter, than to have now conveyed to Lord Palmerston their retrospective censure of the conduct of a preceding administration.

"With regard, however, to the conduct of Sir John Davis during the last few months, in pursuance of instructions from Lord Palmerston, or in accordance with what Sir John Davis conceived to be the spirit of those instructions, as applicable to the events of the moment, his Lordship has only to say, that the measures very properly, very promptly, and very successfully taken by Sir John Davis were not 'unjustifiable in principle;' were not 'a violation of solemn treaties;' were not adopted 'without the customary forms

which the laws of nations recognise, and the feelings of humanity demand;' and that they were neither 'rash' nor 'injudicious.' On the contrary, there is no principle of international law more established and more justifiable than that which authorizes the resort to force, in order to extort redress which negociation has failed to obtain. The measures carried into execution by Sir John Davis were not 'a violation of solemn treaties,' but were employed to obtain the execution of solemn treaties; and this the China Association, with a singular forgetfulness of their own assertions, and with a remarkable inconsistency of argument, virtually acknowledge, by the complaint which they make, that 'all the important concessions made in consequence of the recent hostile demonstrations, were really embodied in the treaty alluded to.' If the demands which were made, and the concessions extorted, consisted of things which the treaty stipulated, the British government were justified in demanding them, and it was those who had refused or evaded those demands, and not those who made them, who were guilty of 'a violation of solemn treaties.'

"The Association complain that these measures, which they miscall 'a hostile aggression,'

were directed against 'a part of an empire far removed from the seat of government;' but Lord Palmerston is at a loss to understand the particular force of this objection. The geographical position of Canton, with respect to Peking, is a matter which neither Sir John Davis nor the British government have any power to alter. The aggressions were on the part of the Chinese, and not on the part of Sir John Davis. Redress had been demanded by him, and his demands had been the subject of protracted, but unsuccessful, negociation. The wrongs were local, and the very distance between the place where they had happened, and the seat of the Imperial government, left Sir John Davis no alternative but either submission, or the employment of force on the spot itself. He had no means of making any application to Peking, except through the governor of Canton, and that governor had declined to afford redress. Even the China Association would not, Lord Palmerston concludes, have recommended that the thousand men who sailed from Hongkong should have been sent to Peking, and there was nothing left, therefore, for Sir John Davis to do, but to take the steps which he did take, or to sit down quietly under a denial of justice; and,

whatever may be the opinion of the China Association on this matter, Lord Palmerston thinks that Sir John Davis chose the proper alternative.

"The Association, however, say that the course was 'rash and injudicious.' If it was rash, its rashness was shared by the military and naval officers who were consulted beforehand by Sir John Davis; but their high professional character exempts them from the imputation thus lightly cast upon them by the Association,—of having exposed the lives of the officers and men under their command, in 'a rash and injudicious' enterprise; and, with all due deference to the Association, Lord Palmerston may be allowed to think that the opinion of those military and naval officers, formed on the spot upon a military and naval undertaking, is entitled to more weight than the judgment which the commercial Association, sitting at Liverpool, have passed upon that undertaking. Moreover, the opinion of those officers was justified by the full and complete success which crowned the operation. And Lord Palmerston directs me here to observe, that when the Association object to these measures as repugnant to the feelings of humanity, they seem to forget that there never

was a military and naval operation in which not only the common feelings of humanity, but the still higher qualities of generous forbearance, and noble disinterestedness and self-denial were more splendidly displayed, by every man engaged, from the highest to the lowest; and if the Chinese are not, in their moral constitution, essentially different from the rest of the human race, the admirable good conduct of the British soldiers and sailors on this occasion must produce as forcible an impression on their minds, as the proofs which have been afforded of the irresistible superiority of Englishmen in naval and military matters have, no doubt, created on their prudential fears.

"The Association seem to be dissatisfied, that the concessions obtained by this expedition did not go beyond the full and faithful execution of the Pottinger treaty; but they forget that Sir John Davis could have had no warrant, without fresh and specific instructions from his government, to insist upon *more*, and that the governor of Canton could not, of his own authority, have granted any thing which would have been contrary to, or a departure from, the treaty which had been ratified by the emperor."

No. II.

TRANSLATION of some important observations, in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, on the present position and prospects of French commerce in the East. — An argument for free trade.

"Several delegates, presented to the selection of the government by the principal Chambers of commerce, were attached to the diplomatic mission of 1844. They have published their reports; and one of them, M. Natalis Rondot, points out thus, in his very decisive conclusions, the faults of our economical position: — 'Our industry, active and intelligent, need have no fears of meeting any foreign competitors in the markets of the farthest East, or of taking a part in the game of rivalry, if it could only have fair play. Unfortunately, China is five or six thousand leagues distant, and the principal question is, are our means of transport satisfactory and cheap; that is, with what charges will our carriage by sea burthen our enterprises. In a word, if we admit that our goods are suitable and advantageous, can we count upon the shipping for them? If the merchandise yields a profit, is there reason to

suppose that the freight will pay itself? The future of our commercial relations with China depends as much upon the freights as upon the fabrics. Before taking our place among the nations which enrich themselves there, we must be sure of having ships for it, and of not paying 220 francs for the tonnage which the American flag offers for 50 to 65 francs. For this reason it is of consequence not to separate the question of value from that of volume, — the market from the freight; and for the same reason it is indispensable to think, above all, of the return cargo, — to be certain of the possibility of purchasing articles of bulk, not only at the intermediate points, as Manilla, Sincapore, and Batavia, but at the extremity of the voyage, at Canton, Amoy, and Shanghae. We shall never establish a lively and durable trade by confining ourselves to some cargoes of stuffs, wines, and articles of luxury for European residents in the Asiatic colonies; or by purchasing little lots of drugs, spices, and curiosities. These are matters of mere individual adventure, and not of extended commerce. We have, for exportation to China and the Indian archipelago, cloths, woollens, wines, &c. The outward freight may perhaps answer; but on the return

we should be able to load the sugars of Fokien and Cochin-China, the leaf-tobacco of Chěkeang and Canton, the vegetable wax of Sse-chuen, the gambier of Rhio and Sincapore, with which would naturally be combined tea, raw silk, cinnamon, camphor, coffee, indigo, pepper, &c., which form the base of actual operations. On these conditions a trade with China and Malaisia (the Malay islands) will be practicable, and the freight reduced to a moderate scale.'

"Thus it is that, on the one hand, we sail at too dear a rate, and, on the other, the importation into France of the greater number of Asiatic products is limited by the rigour of our customs' tariffs; besides which (and that is the most essential point), the variety of articles which we should be able to give in exchange to the Chinese is sufficiently restricted.

"The expensiveness of our navigation has a paralysing effect (not only in the Indian and China seas, but also wherever we meet with competition,) on the development of our trade. It is a general evil, resulting from the taxes which still weigh upon the materials of shipbuilding, and from the formalities and obstacles which too timid a legislation has thought it necessary to impose on private vessels in favour

of the naval service. The government has announced that an inquiry would be instituted for revising the laws and regulations in force. This reform, if effected in earnest, will profit the whole of our maritime resources, and will render a competition with other flags in the distant seas more easy. It would be necessary, however, that large reductions in duties should at the same time favour the importation of Chinese products, and principally sugar, which would furnish excellent freights. The French tariff admits the principle, that the productions of countries beyond Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope should be relieved in proportion to the additional expense which the distance imposes on the prime cost of the goods. It would be right, then, to regulate the application of this principle, already generally admitted, in such sort that the exportations from China should really reach our ports on terms advantageous to the shipper. It is a mere matter of calculation, and since the tariff on sugars is now under consideration, this opportunity seems favourable. A revision of the same kind might be extended to tobaccos and other principal articles of Chinese produce.

"In order to succeed, or at any rate to

emerge from the miserable position which we now occupy in the Asiatic seas, it is necessary that the combined energies of government and of trade should tend resolutely to the same end; above all, it is important that the efforts should be continuous, and that they should in some sort maintain the impulse of the acquired progress. Sometimes, in a moment of just perception,—perhaps of leisure,—the government calls to mind these remote regions. Now it takes possession of Tahiti, or of the Marquesas, with a view to providing a resting place, in the midst of the wide ocean, for our whalers and other long voyagers;— then it reinforces the China station, sends a diplomatic mission, establishes new consulates; but in the intervals of these different acts, inspired by the same motive, there occur long pauses, during which France leaves the field open to her rivals, and clumsily loses the fruits of expense incurred and sacrifices made. This is not the way to attain success.

"Has the trade itself, more immediately interested in the results of the enterprise, displayed on its own part the activity and the intelligence of which it might, at need, have found an example in the conduct of the British

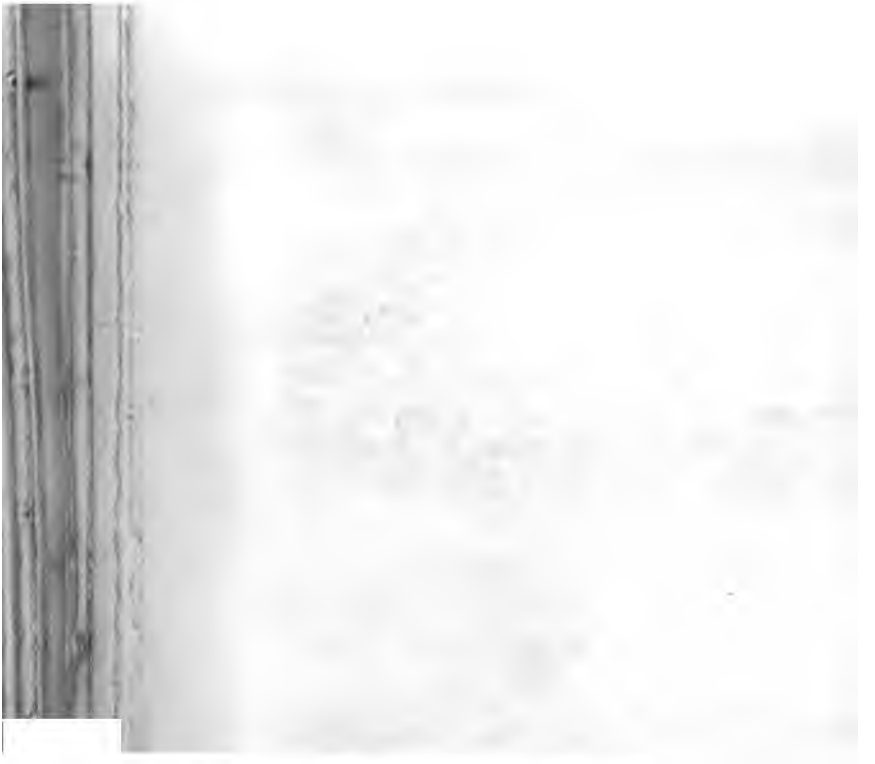
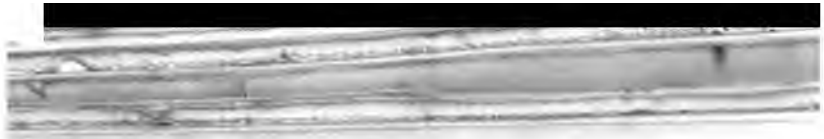
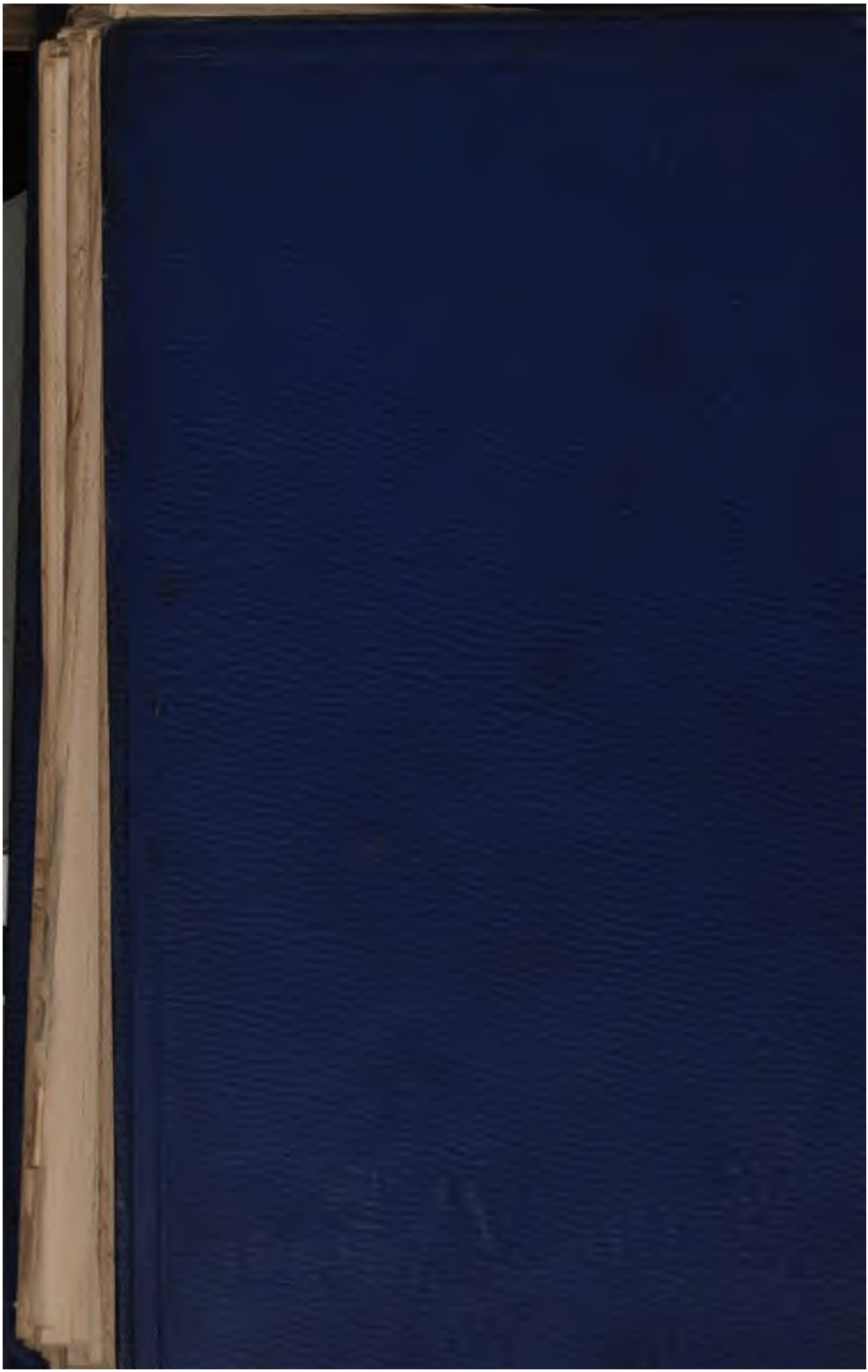
commerce? Without disguising the difficulties which oppose themselves in China to the direct exchange of our products, the delegates who accompanied the mission of 1844 admit that there would be room for France in the different markets of Asia, and that we ought not to abandon the competition The chambers of commerce at the ports, and several of the manufacturing cities, have more than once required that the state should set up, under its patronage, a great company which might establish its branches at Sincapore, at Manilla, at Canton, at Shanghae, and centralize the capital and operations of commerce; but these are no longer the times in which such companies succeed. Those which existed at the close of the last century are most of them dissolved, and the peculiar organization of the associations which still act under the control, and with the participation of the state in England* and Holland, could not be taken as models. The public treasury would probably lose its advances, swallowed up by the first expenses, and such a check would discourage all the

* For nearly twenty years the English Company has been debarred by law from commercial transactions.

hopes of the future. Let the representatives of some great branch of industry, the manufacturers of the same large city, the shippers of the same port, combine to employ, in unison, their capitals, their manufactures, and their vessels. Circumscribed within such limits, these combinations of interests, administering their own affairs under the moral sanction, but not with the material and pecuniary support of government, would have real chances of success, because they would proceed with the economy which generally presides over private speculations. The English, besides, and the Americans, act in no other way. In the place of the East India Company, which in 1834 lost its ancient privileges, have been substituted numerous commercial houses, powerful by the accumulation of capital, by the multiplication of branches, and, above all, by perseverance combined with the spirit of enterprise.

"It is painful to find one's self constantly opposed to this overwhelming parallel, and denouncing the subaltern part to which France seems to have resigned herself in the great commercial struggle of which Asia has become the theatre. It would be perilous any longer

to shut one's eyes to such a situation, and culpable mismanagement to lose, either from levity or from forgetfulness of remote interests, the influence which France ought to extend, or at least preserve, in China as well as every where else."

THE END.

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